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ARTICLE I.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE GENERAL SYNOD IN
INDIA AND HER WORK.

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It is now almost fifty years since the Lutheran Church of the General Synod began her missionary work at Guntur. It can certainly be no question of indifference to the friend of the mission, to say nothing of the lover of Christ, to inquire into the history, advances made, work already accomplished, and to be yet accomplished—to ascertain the real victories won—the souls brought under the influence of the cross in this half century of our Church's missionary activity. The struggles into life of any activity, it matters not how narrow its sphere, must always be of interest to the thoughtful man. And, surely, when we remember the early life of our missionary church, the hindrances against which she made her way, the small means at her command, the fewness of the laborers with whom she was supplied, the steady opposition of the surrounding heathen mass, and the many other discouragements against which she had to contend in this caste-ridden and gospel-despising land, her struggle into a vigorous life must be fraught with much interest to the student of events and the lover of the Church of Christ. Many a hard blow had to be struck, and many a sacrifice made,

before the mission gained its present foothold; and yet greater devotion and zeal must yet be shown by the Church before India shall be given to Christ for his inheritance.

That man of apostolic fire, who alone and with none but Christ to lean upon, began the work at Guntur in 1842, has gone to his long home and well-earned rest; but his name still lingers lovingly and lives in the hearts of some of the oldest members of the Church, with a freshness that grows lovelier as they near the other shore, to meet him by whom they were shepherded and led out of heathen bondage into the glorious liberty of the Gospel. Father Heyer lives. It were a needless task to write his life of patient, faithful endeavor. First, at Guntur, and afterward at Rajamundry, when the work was in its infancy and the difficulties greatest, that grand missionary, whom Dr. E. J. Wolf, in his "One Hundred Years Ago,"* cails "the ideal of a Christian missionary, who for sixty years rendered incalculable services to his Church both in this country and in India," stood at his post under circumstances when weaker hearts would have faltered, and less faithful and hopeful ones would have been so discouraged as to have given up battle; and yet he, against the might of a heathen world, in Christ's name and strength, bore his sturdy testimony to the Gospel and Christ's power to save, until his advancing age and feeble health compelled him reluctantly to withdraw and leave the work to other hands. With what heroism he carried forward the work, with what fearlessness and apostolic singleness of aim he followed his convictions, it is not our purpose fully to relate; and yet, that others may see something of the measure of his spirit and devotion, and be led to something of a like courage and sacrifice, it may not be out of place to relate an incident or two of his life.

The largest success with which Father Heyer met was in our Palnad field, about 60 miles from Guntur. In his day (and now too) it was regarded the most unhealthy part of our district. And although Englishmen and Americans have lived there for longer or shorter periods (notably Rev. J. H. Harpster), still it is a little like entering the Dark Continent to live there during

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some months of the year. Jungle fevers of the fiercest kind and the most fatal miasmas are prevalent. What is bad now, was certainly much worse in our pioneer's day, as the country was far less opened up. But nothing hindered by all this, when he sees necessity for his presence there, he faces the situation like a true soldier would a deadly battery, and when duty gave him his call through the success of his work there, he manfully stood to his post, and though death should meet him there, he does not confer with flesh and blood; neither counts his life dear unto himself. Fully alive to the danger of the situation, we are told, he made every arrangement for the worst, prepared for his death, got ready his grave, bade good-bye to his friends, and with resolution simple, faithful and sublime, carried forward his work with a zeal, faith and love, which were his constant supports and made him triumphant in every duty. Death could not move him. And when in God's goodness he lives through it all, there is something apostolic and sublime, as he leaves that field of his "labors many," and stands by that grave which he fully expected to fill, saying: "Oh, grave, I have conquered thee; I have robbed thee of thy spoil: to God be all the glory.

But fain as we would speak of this noble servant's labors, trials and victories, it is not the purpose at this time to do so. His mode of traveling and life bear marks of the highest self-sacrifice. He lived and traveled more like an Indian ascetic than like an American missionary. His wants were few and his faith was large. But it is a matter of doubt whether, in respect of physical sacrifice he can be an example for us now. Things have greatly changed since his time. To live on such food as he used, to travel as he did, would doubtless be the death of most of us, save the strongest. It seems to us now, that he who takes care of his health, so as to secure his best work, who grasps the full force of the fact that this work needs men of experience, which is only got by length of service and patient standing at one's post, is doing more for the real advancement of this grand work than he who throws himself with all his might upon the enemy and heroically pours out his life for the cause. Self-sacrifice is good, is noble, no doubt; but pa-

tient, persistent effort in well-doing are better, and tell more in the end.

Father Heyer is gone; the work he started remains; nay, has grown with such rapidity and to such dimensions as would fill his eyes with tears of joy, could he but see it. If he could scarcely contain himself, upon his return to India in 1869, when he saw the progress of the work at Guntur, what would be his feelings now, could he step in and see our work? But does he not? Nay, verily, though unseen to us, he sees with clearer eyes than were he in the flesh, and rejoices at what God has wrought in that field in which he labored two and more years before he baptized a single soul.

But we turn to a brief survey of our Lutheran Church in India in the Krishna District of the Madras Presidency. It need not be told here how the mission which consisted up to 1869 of the Guntur and Rajamundry fields, was split in two at the time of those stormy days in our General Synod's history, during and following the Ft. Wayne decision. It would no doubt be interesting to write of the work which had been done at Rajamundry when that field had to be left to others, for want both of men and means to carry it on successfully; when it almost slipped out of the hands of our Church, and would have done so had it not been for the ready hand and strong heart of Father Heyer; but this is outside of our purpose at present. We wish to bring the light upon our Guntur, or better, Krishna field, and note its progress, mode of work, and life; not that we do not rejoice in the good things which have happened and are happening in the Rajamundry field. Would to God we were all happily one again!

The work of our Mission Church divides itself into four heads: (1) School or Educational, (2) Medical, (3) Zenana, and (4) Evangelistic. It is hardly necessary to say that this is no logical division, but one which missionary parlance has deemed sufficiently accurate to designate the work done. It must at once be admitted by any one at all conversant with our work that these divisions are not strictly accurate, for our School, Medical and Zenana, are each and all evangelistic, and are carried on with this end in view quite as much as that which goes

purely under that head. But it answers our purpose to use these heads. However, in mission work it is not always easy to separate the secular and the spiritual. The two are so bound together, so act and react on the missionary that he can only endeavor, as far as possible, to sanctify the former and make his whole work an honor to God and a blessing to man. He may often spend as much time in teaching a man to be prompt and faithful in the discharge of some ordinary duty as he does to show him a true Christian life; but he finds himself so environed as to make such things a part of his daily life; and it is only by a struggle that he can rise above them. A man must be a little of everything to be a successful leader in our mission church; must try to use every gift and sanctify every labor to her good.

I. Our educational work subdivides itself into two branches: Primary and College. All our school work focalizes into our College, with the exception of our girls' schools under our Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The College stands at the centre, and the whole educational work of the Church tends toward it.

The primary schools in the outlying villages may more properly be regarded as parochial or congregational schools. They form part and parcel of the village church-life, are taught by men and woman under the direct superintendence of the missionary, and are open to heathen and Christian alike, become, hence, an evangelistic agency in a village, bringing scores and hundreds under Christian influence who would otherwise not be reached. The simple branches are taught, together with the catechism and the Bible. To be sure many of the schools are small, poorly attended, and it is to be feared poorly taught, for teachers are the things most needed yet; but still, while they may rank very low as schools, the power they exert cannot be fully estimated, unless one consider the surrounding atmosphere in which they live. The government helps to pay the upkeep with a grant which depends upon the results turned out, upon examination of a government inspector; but both, on account of the backwardness of education and the lack of interest of parents and their poverty, as well as the poor teaching, staff as yet available,

the grant in money drawn from the government is exceedingly small; and, as it has been the policy to give half to the successful pupils, the main burden of these schools' support has rested upon the mission. The encouraging thing about them is that they are mixed schools, as the government terms it, *i. e. boys and girls* read together, so that the whole church is benefited. It will be seen that the largest part of the expense of these schools must come out of our mission treasury; and while it is true that we pay the teachers very small salaries,* the whole number of the schools being pretty large, the cost of this educational scheme is a considerable drain on our funds. It is but just to say that, where the people can, they are very willing to supplement the mission's allowance by gifts of food and rice, especially when the teachers do their work well.

But the great justification of the schools is, that they are the handmaid in the work of evangelization. Without them the work would make way slower than it does against the ignorance and superstition, the customs and life, which are such chains on the wheels of progress. They fill our future with hope. We cannot expect children to do the work of men, and our church is composed of children in faith and knowledge. Self-reliance comes with knowledge, and with self-reliance freedom and self-support.

But it were to omit a most important fact to fail to mention that from these schools come most of the boys and girls who enter our boarding schools, and who will by and by become, after years of training and study, the leaders in the church; our teachers, catechists, sub-pastors and pastors who shall direct the infant life of the church into a larger faith, greater zeal, fuller hope—into the realization of Jesus Christ as God and Saviour.

But we now turn to other primary schools of a different character and with a slightly different end in view. We refer to what are called *our caste girls' schools*. This may not be a fortunate name. The word *caste* has rather an unsavory atmosphere surrounding it, but such has been the name these schools have borne, and to the missionary it means nothing more than

*Rs. 118—Rs. 4-8, depending on the number of classes in the school.

a school to which the girls of the higher class natives go. We do not mean that they are entirely exclusive, or are intended to be, but it takes tact and wisdom to deal with caste, and girls' schools in which outcastes are allowed at this stage would have an exceedingly meagre attendance from those classes of the community which it is desirable for the missionary to influence. We must make the best we can of certain facts which we find existing among the Hindu people and endeavor, where no principle is involved and where the "all things to all men" of St. Paul permits, to carry on our work with the least friction and with the aim in view of reaching the greatest number possible. Our caste girls' schools, or, better, our schools for the children of the higher class Hindus, as we prefer to say, have become a distinct part of our church's work. They form an entering wedge into the higher circle of Hindu life. On account of the early marriages of the Hindus, and their slowness to acknowledge the advantages of girls' schools, the children cannot, in most cases, be kept long enough in the schools to make any great advance in their studies: in most cases the simple rudiments of learning are mastered; but along with this the simple truths of the Bible are sown, and the story of the cross is told, so that here, as everywhere else, Christ Jesus is made the rallying point of all our work. We must know considerable about the complex character of Hindu life to appreciate at all the real influence of these schools. It was a great struggle to set this work on foot. Immemorial custom was against it. On every hand objections were raised against it. There was no good to be derived from the education of their girls: they would not become better wives and mothers, more obedient, more inclined to follow their husband's advice, should they be educated. Nay, the fear was expressed, and is even now heard, that education will spoil their daughters and make disobedient wives; and so the fight goes on with hoary custom. But education, through the assiduous efforts of missionaries and the encouragement of government and others, is winning the day. Of course what progress Christian education will make in this field, it is far from easy to tell. Threatening clouds hang over this agency of Christian endeavor and the tocsin of alarm is being sounded in

Hindu quarters that these schools, from a Hindu standpoint, are slowly undermining the old Hindu home. Yet we push on in this race, believing that the Galilean must conquer and that the end will be light and peace, though the way be hard and the opposition fierce.

These schools, it will be observed, are among the non-Christians. Their influence is felt by the great Hindu mass. The work is full of the most trying difficulties. It takes a stout heart to carry it on; a steady hand to guide the ship. But, though the direct results may seem meagre, the effect upon the whole mass of Hinduism is striking; and home-life and immemorial customs are being met with a new life; new forces and new processes are gradually making their way, and the leaven is slowly leavening the whole mass. When the whole work stands under review it presents solidity and encouraging progress. Viewed piece by piece, it may not inspire much hope; but taken with all the difficulties already met, the real ground gained, and the encouraging outlook before, and there is room for plenty of hope. The ascent may be hard, but the glimpses by the way are inspiring, and the end will be victory—the victory of faith over every opposition.

In this connection we must not fail to notice the boarding school establishments, one for boys and the other for girls. These are almost entirely supported by the church at home. The pupils are housed, fed, in case of girls and orphan boys clothed, and educated at the mission's expense. Yet no money could be spent which will insure better return. The children are mostly taken from our village schools. The time was when it was hard to get them to come, but, with boys at least, this difficulty is past. We cannot speak too strongly of this special feature of our church's work. We can only now outline the benefits derived from it. The most promising lads are secured in this way for our service in active work. Their homes would be no places as yet to train them in. The school-house becomes a Christian home of culture, and under the immediate control of the mission, a new life is taught. These young women and men become the chief agents in our infant church. They are first in everything and take the chief places in our school and

evangelistic staffs. The great cry in all mission-church work is for better, more efficient, devoted, native agents to carry forward the work already done and to strike out new work. It goes without saying that these boarding schools are established for this very purpose. We are far from saying that they satisfy as yet the demand, that they have furnished an entirely efficient corps of laborers, that they have not many serious defects, not the least of which is that help is given in many cases where self-help should be fostered; but, taken all in all, they are serving a good end, from them we have drawn our best workers and on them we must depend for some time to come for those who will fill up the ranks of our rapidly growing evangelistic work. The poverty of the people, and, it must be added, their ignorance and often unwillingness besides, make it simply an impossibility for them to train their sons and daughters until they are fit for efficient service in the church's work. But the real influence of our boarding schools is yet to be felt. Men are not ready for work until character has been formed and knowledge acquired; and these two factors are of slow growth, especially the former. Hinduism is not the soil to train men in. But with a more efficient superintendence, with the constant and persistent aim of a foreign missionary to make them the nurseries for the training of Christian laborers, they will furnish more and more satisfactory workmen; for we are optimists enough to believe that any and all work of this character tends toward better things, if only the attention of which it is worthy be bestowed upon it.

But we pass to the last and highest educational agency in our church, our College. And here we can simply touch what would doubtless furnish matter for an entire article itself. The question of the evangelistic efficiency of all our school work up to this point, we believe stands unchallenged. Hence we now enter upon a vast field of divergent opinions, especially in some quarters and among some missions and missionaries. We believe, nay, are quite sure, that much, of the energy spent over the discussion of the evangelistic efficiency of higher education could have been much more profitably used, and in fact would

never have been expended at all, if a fuller knowledge of all the facts, a careful study of the field and a patient inquiry into the real work had first been entered upon by those who have doubted and expressed their doubts as to the wisdom of higher education as an evangelistic agency. In our Church it has never been seriously questioned but once, and then, as soon as a full explanation of all matters was had, it was dropped and has never been mooted since. To begin: our college is for all classes, all faiths, all castes. In our opinion, no school founded on the religion of Jesus and laboring for his glory, should have a less broad field open, and yet good men have differed even on this point. We have earnestly labored to teach fearlessly a most unsavory lesson to Hindu pride and caste, that God is no respecter of persons; that he hath made of one blood all nations, and that in Jesus Christ he hath purposed to make man realize the great brotherhood to which he belongs. And where could the missionary find a better audience for the work. India is steeped in the ideas of *privileged* classes. From time immemorial the spirit of 'I am better than' has been nourished, surrounded by custom and law, until it has grown into a strong tree, until the privileged few have become more and more confident of their position, and the rest have sunken into a slavery whose chains are none the less real though invisible. Our college aims to give a fair education to all who come. It follows the course of study laid down by the University of Madras, of which it is an allied institution; but all these aims are subordinated to the double purpose of presenting the claims of Jesus Christ, and of furnishing men for our church work. What we wish to emphasize, is that our *education is Christian*, and if any one were to see the godless education to which the government has committed itself, and the open defiance to Christianity and Christ which are found in our native schools and colleges, he would be satisfied that the yoking together of education and Christianity is one of the most imperative duties of the hour. Said Principal Miller at the Bangalore Mission Conference in 1879: "We must not let education become godless;" we must keep Christ in it, or it will, is quite certain. As might be expected, our college has students from every class of the Hindu,

Mohammedan and Christian community. Our staff consists of one American, one native Christian, seven Hindu, of whom four are graduates of the Madras University, two Mohammedan and two Sanscrit pundits. Instruction is given up to the F. A. or 1st in Arts grade of the Madras University and English, Telugu, Hindostani and Sanscrit are taught. But the text book of all most precious is the Bible. We are far from saying that our college is a great success; indeed we who have watched over it are the ones most alive to its failures to come up to any thing like the evangelistic efficiency which we could desire; but at the same time we are conscious of making the truth known to those who could not be reached in any other way so well. Doubtless methods of mission work are open to criticism. What effort is not? But to point out the mistakes made in the past in method and work, is far easier than to indicate what would be the most telling method for the future. We are sure that we see signs of progress in college-mission work, and although the work has not developed the results which its friends have longed for, yet if the real history of the church's progress of the past could be written, and if we could read the pages of the history of the Indian church yet to be filled up, the influence of the mission college would be credited with many successes which now we fail to really grasp, as they lie under the surface and cannot be written down in statistical reports.

But we should want no other plea for the work of our college than to point to it as the training school of our future mission laborers. We must have, we must insist upon, a more highly trained staff of workers. These must be forthcoming before we can undertake any broad and aggressive evangelistic endeavor among the great outlying Hindu masses. The work is waiting for the workmen. But we must possess our souls in patience, and grind away at the mills, until the grist turned out at our hands is owned and blessed of God to the turning of many to righteousness. Our schools and college are getting ready human instruments. We can only pray that the human may, by the grace of God, be set apart for the accomplishment of the divine purposes, that all the imparted knowledge may be sanctified and made meet for the Master's use.

II. Medical mission work is as old as evangelistic. It has, however, taken on at times a more scientific form than at others, and there has been employed a trained medical staff to carry it forward. In India, at this time, there is a mission, the Arcot of the Dutch Reformed Church, familiarly known also as the "Scudder" Mission, which has for years been carried on by trained medical men. Lately they have had other missionary forces at work, but they have yet several trained physicians. And in other parts of India there are trained medical men at work. It will easily be seen that such work must have a most conciliating effect among natives of all classes. And that it is fully sanctioned by Scripture, that caring for the body is often the surest way of reaching the soul, there can be no serious doubt. But organized and trained medical work, especially among the male part of the community, is apt to decrease, in view of the general medical service which the government is providing all over the country. Still, the district missionary finds abundant scope for the use of any and all medical knowledge of which he is master, and if he does not have any, it were well for him to set to and acquire a knowledge of all those simpler remedies which he will be compelled to use in his work. There is an ever open door to the hearts of the people through a good, "well-stocked medicine chest," and every man who travels any distance from the centre of a government hospital or dispensary, should have with him this great aid.

In our mission there has never been a trained medical staff till of late years. But every missionary has played the doctor, and often with marked success and skill. Some have given themselves to study in this line more extensively than others, but all have found the use of medicine an indispensable adjunct to their success. Among the villages there are scores and hundreds of cases found which readily yield to such treatment as is in the power of any intelligent missionary. And while there are native modes of treatment, and these are often clung to most tenaciously by the masses, yet the effect of our more highly scientific treatment accompanied by our more powerful specifics, will make a way for us in a short time. A man may linger for weeks under native treatment who can be brought around in a

few days by our mode and medicine. And hence our missionaries have always used this aid and found it a most blessed means of getting at the hearts and affections of the people.

But while we may rest content with our medical work as now carried forward by the mission, there is a field vast and full of possibilities which cannot be reached efficiently by the present medical work set on foot. To understand this you must understand the social condition of India as it bears on the question of female freedom. As to this point there is no doubt women in India are not free to come and go, to see friends of the opposite sex, to hold intercourse with the outside world, to see any other male persons except their own immediate relations. Such has been their condition since the Mohammedan conquest of India. The system of screening females from the gaze of the curious and rude world, as the Hindu would say, or to shut her up in a prison-house little less galling in many cases than an actual prison, as her western sisters would say, may have had some justification on the ground of self-protection in those rude ages; yet there is little to be said now in justification of a system which deprives half the race of freedom, and treats woman as if she were a peculiar species which needs special treatment to insure her virtue. But such is the custom. The women are held captive whether they appreciate it or not. Nay, their lords would have us believe that they are willing captives, but we are rather disposed to believe that they have gotten *used* to their chains. This Zenana system which excludes woman from the outside gaze, which shuts her away from the rest of the world, is a field full of opportunities to the lady doctor; and her work in these closed homes is one fraught with vast possibilities for sympathy and help. How much suffering goes on behind these dull walls, who can tell? The pain and woe have entered into the heart of western nations. Sisters—Aryan sisters—of Europe and America have heard the wail, and with Christ's sympathetic treatment of human suffering in their mind, they come with willing hands and sympathetic hearts to relieve the misery which for ages has gone up from the suffering heart, unheard, unhelped.

In this field of labor our church has been exceedingly for-

tunate. We have had in our midst for the last five years an excellent example of a lady doctor—the first, too, be it remembered, in the Madras Presidency connected with a missionary society. In this work, even under the disadvantages of a new work, the want of proper assistants and proper building, she succeeded in developing to some measure the possibilities of this work of love. It is quite certain that the home church, when once it fully realizes the real character and demands of medical work for women in this land, will not delay in laying broad and sure foundations of this noble endeavor, which under God must play a most prominent part in the evangelization of India. Already we are assured of the willingness of the women who have this work in hand awaiting only the proper time to lay the foundation of a hospital, which will fully commit the church to this blessed labor of love.

III. It will at once be seen that Zenana work includes medical mission work, so far as the persons reached are concerned; but the real position of the latter and its intended purpose, is to move out of the Zenana and endeavor to draw its patients toward a central hospital where medicine is systematically dispensed and the Bible regularly taught to all who come; so that while it begins in and at first is the most powerful stimulant to Zenana work, it will by and by become a separate and external work to the Zenana, and act and react most beneficially upon it. Our church's work in the Zenanas, or homes, has gone on with more or less success from the time of our establishing the girls' schools for the higher class Hindus. Schools opened a way into the home, and to carry them on at all successfully the missionary had to visit, urge and often compel the parents to send their children. This naturally furnished opportunities to speak to the parents and female members of the family about other and higher things, and made the missionary (of course always a lady), realize what a vast field of labor lay open to her hand. To arrange this work in a systematic manner, to follow up the impressions made by the schools upon the young girls, who must leave them at a discouragingly early age in obedience to iron custom, to carry forward systematic Bible instruction in these homes—all this is a work which demands much skill and

tact. Our work is being organized now on the government plan for Zenana instruction; the matter of greatest moment is to get good, qualified teachers to help carry it on. The people are anxious to learn, not at all unwilling to study the Bible lessons and fancy work, and if there could be trained and reliable workers found there is no end to which the work could not be carried. But it requires exceeding patience to carry it forward. Nothing of the rush and sweep of our western life has as yet penetrated these homes of our Aryan stock in the East; and he who expects to take India by storm, or she who anticipates a victory every charge she makes, will soon find what a stronghold custom is and how slowly it yields to outside impressions. Yet *it does yield*, and any one who has studied the problem of Indian evangelization can certainly take heart at the changes which have already been wrought. The Hindu home-life is the citadel of the complex system of caste. Among the women Hinduism flourishes to its full bloom. No where else can surer blows, more telling and direct, be dealt. Its importance in the Hindu system can only be appreciated by those who have gone in and out of these homes. The fires on the heathen altars may go out in the temples, but they will be kept burning in the home, and the cry of "Rama, Rama," will there be heard with ceaseless though unavailing persistence. None of the outside world, its changes in thought and life, are allowed to break the dull monotony of the life within these closed walls. The father, husband, lord, may hold most heretical views concerning the household gods but he must not broach them to his poor ignorant women folk. Hinduism, the household god, is good enough for them.

We have made a beginning here in our church work. The harvest may ripen slowly, but *ripen* it will. This is the peculiar field of our ladies' societies. Here is work worthy their devotion. Light is wanted in millions of homes in India. Not the "light of Asia;" that light has proven itself darkness to woman-kind; but the light which shines from the cross and him who hung thereon, from the empty grave of Joseph of Arimathea, and which streams down through the open door through which our forerunner has gone—Jesus Christ the righteous. But we

are entirely unable to do justice to this work. It is not for men either to do or describe it. It is woman's work, and she alone can tell us the true nature of the life to which her Hindu sister is subjected. The story of the Zenana is full of light and dark lines, yet it is to be feared that the *dark* are far more prominent. We may not know how deep are the lines of sadness and sorrow in which the female life of these homes is lived, and yet enough is surely known to convince every right-thinking man that woman's position in these homes is not what God intended for her as man's helpmeet.

IV. It must be plain to every one that the end of all our church's work is the evangelization of the people. But our *evangelistic work*, as we have remarked, bears certain marked features which at once differentiate it somewhat from the rest. While to evangelize is the great end no doubt, still to *edify* is no small part of the work which must be looked after in our village evangelistic work. And we may say this is much the harder work. To guide these evangelized churches into any thing like a proper church life, to put down the thousand and one tendencies which have been brought with the people from Hinduism, to develop anything like an intelligent faith, to teach them self-support and self-government, to watch over these slowly emerging Christian communities—all this is a task which is second in importance to none, and which requires wisdom and patience—a burden something like that which St. Paul felt when he watched over the church which God had used him in founding. One must only remember the mass of heathenism and its custom and ignorance, by which these little struggling churches are surrounded, to appreciate to some extent the real difficulties in the way of a proper development.

But we must remember that the church here has two duties to perform: to evangelize and to develop into a proper church-life. Let us see how this end is accomplished and both duties attended to without neglect of either. The organization of our district evangelistic work, as to government, must be considered rather unique, and yet our Lutheran Church is not bound to any policy of church government, and so anything that suits the case and circumstances under which the church exists may be

used. Our government looks a little like a monarchy, of which the foreign missionary is the monarch or chief ruler. His voice, or the combined voice of himself and brethren, constitutes the final court of appeal, and in all matters pertaining to the church's life, both practical and doctrinal, things hardly ever reach a settlement until his opinion is sought and expressed. Imagine yourself at the centre of a circle with several concentric rings around you and you have the position of the foreign missionary. Next to him, but under his control, you find a small circle of native ordained pastors whose powers and prerogatives are limited only by the foreign missionary. Next to this lower, or to keep up our figure, in a more extended circle you find our sub-pastors; these control always under the foreign missionary's direction all the native agents under them in rank. After this circle you find one with a yet wider circumference, in which stands the catechist, subject to the agents already mentioned, and in charge of a number inferior workers called *sub-catechists** who have under them the work of several villages. As we indicated in the previous part of this paper the part in our village church organization played by the schools must not be forgotten, and very often these are taught by the sub-catechists' wives when they have the necessary qualification. It would, hence, not be wrong to make our school teachers the outer circle of our church organization. Now how does this system move on, may be a pertinent question? This plan of organization is so worked by examinations that a hard worker and faithful school teacher may gradually step up into higher grades—always depending, however, on two considerations: his ability to pass certain prescribed examinations and his fidelity and upright character in the work with which he has already been intrusted. Mere cleverness will not do. Spiritual and moral fitness are indispensable requisites. Of course if young men pass out from

*This title has only of late years been adopted. It was felt that the old designation, village preacher, was entirely misleading to the home church and indicated a much higher grade of worker than he really was; hence the change. From this grade we chose our higher grade workers: catechists, sub-pastors and pastors.

a high class in our school they are often able to undertake a higher grade of work on account of their superior training, and yet the experience which they gain in the lower grades of service, is so helpful to them that a year or two in each inferior grade makes them all the more efficient workers. This, then, in brief is the present organization of the forces which must carry forward the work of evangelizing and developing the masses of Hinduism. How this organization fits into the church life and makes the missionary's influence felt in the smallest village community are questions of prime importance.

It must not be supposed that the missionary sits upon a little throne and dispenses law like an absolute monarch for the guidance of these communities. By no means. He constantly moves about among them and personally superintends all the workers under him, directs his men in all matters of difficulty and importance and has virtually upon his shoulders the guidance of the whole body of workers as well as the infant church which is springing up so rapidly among the common people. It is he who appoints committees to settle disputes in the different communities—and what a job he has here;—it is he who must look over both sides of all controversy, examine the committee's work and often the character of the men who made the investigation, and assent or disapprove of the conclusion reached by them. Generally, at his hands (for as yet we have few native pastors to whom the work has been intrusted) all the children of the church receive the holy rite of Baptism and the holy Eucharist is administered; so that his mind and affection are everywhere felt; and no work goes forward for which he is not directly responsible.

Every community furnishes scope for the development of the gifts and ability of every worker, and the sub-catechists are kept at their work by the constant supervision of the catechists, while these are made to feel the responsibility of their posts by the missionary who holds them directly responsible for the district committed to their charge. The people as yet say little in church matters. They are learners. When once self-support is more largely developed among them they will be entrusted with the management of their own affairs: but as yet little has

been done toward self-government. In some of the larger communities punchayets, or native councils, have been chosen, but they have often proven more a source of hindrance than help in the matter of discipline. The plan into which the church will organize is easily seen, but the times are not yet propitious. Neither have we the men of tried ability; nor have the churches developed self-support to the required extent for the carrying out of this plan. Still it may be well to indicate that it begins to look encouraging as communities increase and as more efficient leaders are developed. It is clear that when the times are ripe for such things we shall very easily organize several contiguous churches under a native pastor who shall control all the internal affairs of the church and himself be responsible for his ministerial conduct to those who placed him in the position. Our organization will then have to shape itself accordingly, and we must have conferences and synods similar to those which we find at home. But all this is future. We have plenty of planting and training to do, and the church has much to learn, before we shall be able to entrust it with self-government. And yet if we can see as much progress in the next twenty years as the last twenty have developed, it is quite certain that much of our present organization will have to undergo change. But we must examine the character of our communities and see the real work yet to be done.

Our church is composed of the poor and despised outcasts. As yet we have not made any formidable inroad on the great mass of Hindu class-life. Our people are poor, and this makes the development of self-support among them such an exceedingly slow process. Immediately above them in rank in the Hindu scale, are the farmers and artisans. (It is true, some of the Christians are acquiring land and learning trades, but not as a class. As a class they are day laborers). These, when once they can be reached, will, we are sure, develop rapidly into a self-supporting church, but equally sure are we that though financially able to support their church, they will need much guidance and caré from without before they will be able to stand alone. But our communities are at present too poor to carry forward a church which must be largely evangelistic. They

might carry on in their midst the church-life, but as yet they have not developed far enough to make them able to stand without much outside aid and the constant counsel of the missionary; so that it becomes quite certain that even when they shall support their own pastors they will yet need the control and guidance of the foreign missionary. We should perhaps say here that the class of which our church is composed is becoming rapidly Christian, and it is quite natural to expect now a whole village community to embrace Christianity at once. When this class has as a class become nominally Christian, then the real work of the missionary will only have begun. We can hope very little of self-government and self-support from this one class alone. But Christianity has always worked upwards. It will do so in India. What a task then will be set the Church of Christ to amalgamate these different classes into one church; what vast fields yet to be won before this caste-ridden land will see "Jesus only," and be willing to acknowledge every man his brother, of whatever race and color or caste? It sometimes looks as if the Church of Christ were going first to convert India *by castes* and then to amalgamate the different castes into a united church, when men have once had their eyes opened to the real nature of caste. Be this as it may, and there are signs around us now that look that way, we are sure that our church's struggles are only beginning, and out of the midst of the din and strife of class feeling, the pride and haughtiness of the higher and, it must be confessed, the insolence and rudeness of the lower classes, it is no easy matter to see the end. It is true that if the Brahmin priesthood—the present spiritual head of the nation—once gives way to the cross there will not be wanting leaders for the new church; but it must not be forgotten that meanwhile others are taking up the leadership, and when they enter they will find leaders from castes which they formerly despised, and trouble will ensue to the church. But with all the opposition and difficulty which must be met and overcome in the attempt to evangelize and train the different castes into one church from the first, to us it seems the only way consonant with God's Word, which plainly declares that of one blood hath he made us all, and by one redemption shall all be freed from sin.

But no doubt the social status of India presents many and serious questions to every friend of the Church of Christ. We may not solve a tenth of these, yet may be instrumental in effecting something toward the main solution of all and may leave the future more hopeful for those to follow. But it requires the highest wisdom. Many of these social distinctions are surely distinctions without differences, foolish, and even laughable, but all this does not appear to those who follow them, but slowly and after years of training.* But the church moves onward; and it is the plain teaching of history that it grows better as the light pervades it more and more. It certainly is no little victory to be permitted by God to dispense the holy communion to a church in which the "cup of blessing" is partaken of by all, from the lowest to the highest in the Hindu society: and what one may occasionally see now may, in God's own time and by his grace, become as common as to see all classes surrounding the table of our Lord in Christian England or America.

But to glance at the present results attained by the church. What are they? Are they such as "to make moan" over, which is becoming so popular in some quarters now? Yes, if you take up the lament of the past and draw a gloomy picture from the fact that "not many mighty, not many great" have been called. Yes, if you simply look at the weaknesses and sins, the backslidings and follies of those who have confessed Christ and come out of heathenism, without remembering the pit out of which they were drawn. Yes, if you remember how few the converts are when compared with the vast numbers of heathen, who know not God and obey not Jesus Christ, without remembering, too, the ordering of God's providence and the history of his church in other lands and ages. But we do not intend to enter into anything like a proof to show that missions, and our missions in particular, are no failure. That is not our purpose. Not that we fear in the least that we could not make our contention good; but the simple record of our paper does not require it. Nor, on the other hand, do we intend going into a

*The writer knows of cases in which the missionary had to use force to compel persons of different castes to take communion from the same cup.

minute statistical statement of the growth and numbers, of the progress and standing of our church. Are not these things very well written and are not the records carefully presented by those who number the hosts of Israel out here? To tell the plain truth it does seem to us, while we know there are many extenuating reasons for it, that there is too much reliance placed now-a-days in numbers, too much numbering of the Lord's host. Of course it is doubtless only the expression in the Church of Christ of that practical and materialistic tendency of our age. But does it not seem too intense, too morbid? A little like the anxious boy and his bean! It ought to be enough for the good and faithful follower of Christ to know that our church has grown, is growing, and will continue to grow so long as the church rests in God's promises and moves forward under her banner, which is love, and in the name and strength of him who said, "and I, if I be lifted from the earth, will draw all men unto me." Neither the faintheartedness of friends, nor the steady opposition of enemies; neither the inherent difficulties of the work, nor the failures and follies of the workers; neither one nor a combination of all these and like hindrances, can stop the current of God's purposes of grace. They may retard but never stop. It is the divine factor in the world and church which must ever receive the highest consideration and produce the highest success,—Jesus Christ verifying the promise: "Lo, I am with you alway." Suppose it cost £500 to save a soul, as you see it stated in some quarters, What of that? The church is growing and Jesus Christ is being honored among the nations more and more. And "he must reign until he hath put all enemies under his feet." His reign is slowly but surely being felt among the nations.

"The beam that shines on Zion's hill
Shall lighten ev'ry land:
The King who reigns in Zion's towers
Shall all the world command."

ARTICLE II.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM.*

By PRESTON K. ERDMAN, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.

The subject of college education has received much consideration at the hands of college graduates who have been honored with an invitation to make an address during the commencement season. To discuss some feature of the subject may, I think, be regarded as the prerogative of one upon whom this distinction has been conferred, and he does not require the ordinary warrant of exceptional experience or mature study for his venturous purpose. He returns to his *Alma Mater*, usually, after having buffeted in the great world of action for a number of years since his graduation, and his first serious thoughts about the performance of his part, lead him to a consideration of the curriculum in which he once trod and which gives kinship to all who have ever trodden in it, whether at one college or another. The widely varied experiences of graduates make them review the subject from as many different standpoints. Of course the product is heterogeneous, and it has been the part of colleges to select from it what is good and practicable. If I am not mistaken, I can trace the establishment of one, if not two chairs in the faculty of our college directly to suggestions by alumni speaking from the place which I now occupy. But their suggestions are not all so happy;—not infrequently they are heretical. Heresy, however, no longer subjects its author to the pains and penalties, or even the reproaches, that once it did. Indeed the man that is free from all heresy, in this progressive age, is exposed to reproaches quite as offensive as the heretic.

For many years the course of instruction prescribed by the colleges of the country was substantially the same. It consisted of the study of the languages, mathematics, moral and intellec-

*Address before the Alumni of Pennsylvania College, June 5, 1889.

tual science and a modicum of physical science. During the first year of the class in which I graduated (1868), physical science was still but an adjunct of the chair of mathematics. In course of time the colleges were pressed to modify the course of instruction that had been so long in vogue, and even to reform it altogether. The causes which led to this were, I think, principally two: (1) the great importance to which the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country had grown, and (2) the remarkable developments in the physical sciences. It was contended that by the study of the physical sciences useful knowledge was acquired and that mental discipline was attained by this as thoroughly as by any other course of study; that a college education, in the established course, was of little advantage, excepting to those entering the so-called learned professions, and that even in these much of the old system might be advantageously replaced. For instance, it is asked, why should one who has chosen the profession of the law, and who has before him a stock of special knowledge, admittedly adequate for the largest capacity,—why should he waste so much of his time and of the force of his brain, in studying in a course at college, consisting of little for which he has practical use in his profession and of much that is not only of no use to him, but which would be an incubus upon his real intellectual work if he were to attempt to remember it? Men of this mind, in other callings, stated their case with equal vehemence. The study of the Greek language was pronounced “a college fetich” within the sacred precincts of one of the largest and oldest universities in the land by one of her alumni, an eminent scholar and statesman.

All this while there has been no lack of staunch advocates of the old system, who contend that it alone embodies the true idea and purport of liberal education; that there is no substitute for it to secure that mental discipline aptly described as that “which produces what is known as the trained mind—which toughens the mental fibre, which develops concentration of thought into intellectual habit, and enables him in after life to do his work, of whatever kind, more easily, more thoroughly, and with less mental strain and friction.”

The contest still wages, nor would it be easy to make any safe prediction of the issue. It is carried on not only by the discussions of those best equipped therefor, but by experiment, and the arbitrament is in the hands of the patrons of the schools, who are the public, and the judgment of this tribunal will in the end determine the right. Judgment in favor of a partial modification has, however, already been given,—for all colleges have conceded a much larger share of instruction to physical science and the English and other modern languages than formerly.

To these modifications those colleges which, like our own, were founded and are conducted by or in connection with some religious denomination, have yielded less than the colleges which are free from such connections. This is sometimes said in criticism of the former. It is said that while such colleges hold themselves out for general higher education, they in fact adhere so closely to the old curriculum because it is peculiarly adapted to the primary education of students intending the ministerial profession and that these institutions are maintained as training schools for the theological seminary. This charge will also be tried before the same judge, and if judgment shall be given against these colleges they will have to bend to it or be relegated to the duty to which they are peculiarly fitted.

Another departure from the established course of college instruction, of a different kind, has been brought about at the instance of the medical profession;—the physician, whose advance in his science has kept pace with the progress of the world, has pointed out that during the period of college training it is not only necessary that the development of the mental faculties should be carefully guided, but that it is also important,—in the case of many students, equally important,—that the physical development should be under professional direction; that self knowledge, which is the best knowledge that comes to us, is but imperfect unless it embraces a knowledge of the physical part of ourselves and the mysterious relation between our inner and outer selves. The physician has also begun to teach us upon a subject which we, as a people, have shown the very least capacity to learn,—that is, intelligent and healthful amuse-

ment. He has therefore made good his claim to teach this during the time when the keenest relish for sport exists and when habits and tendencies form which are to endure for life.

The faculty of every progressive college, therefore, now contains an instructor who, by special study and practice in the medical profession, is able not only to give better instruction in physiology than one lacking this experience, but also teaches the laws of health and makes of college sports a department for the acquisition of knowledge and for physical development, whose importance is second to none in the curriculum.

After all these innovations it might well be doubted whether the college course could admit of any further change and preserve its identity. But so it is, that in recent years the cause of social and political science has called for and received more consideration than it had formerly received. This is a cause to which, in my judgment, full justice has not yet been done by the colleges. Our colleges are much behind the universities of Europe in this respect. Andrew D. White, formerly President of Cornell University, has been most persistent in his attention to the subject. He has made personal examinations of the methods in the European schools and warmly and ably advocated the adoption of a course of instruction in these sciences in our schools.

We are informed by him that "in every important university in Europe, during many years past, extended courses of instruction in history, political and social science and general jurisprudence have been presented," and several of these courses he gives us in detail. It seems that these courses were instituted by desire of the several governments under which the universities exist, and that they are patronized by students who seek to fit themselves for the civil service of their governments in after-life. The excellent work of these departments of instruction is made manifest in the political career of eminent men who received their preparatory education in them, and by various statistics showing that a large percentage of the positions in the civil service of these countries is filled by graduates of these departments.

But while these statistics doubtless show the efficiency of the

schools, it must be admitted they do not have the practical interest for the American student for which they seem to be intended. While in those countries many enter these departments with the reasonable assurance that it is the preparatory training for their future service in the employment of the government, the American student who would enter such a course of instruction, could be but mildly influenced thereto by any prospect of employment in the civil service of his government. We have indeed in this country many official stations in the conduct of which such education would come in excellent part;—stations, the duties, emoluments and dignity of which would make them attractive to men of culture. But these offices go by a very fickle favor. Those that are elective are reached only through the intricacies and uncertainties of first a party nomination and afterwards a popular election. Those that are appointive are for the most part "distributed" under the much despised spoils system. Nearly all of them are likely to be held for a short term only.

This condition of our political system, while it continues, must ever discourage and retard the particular movements towards education in social and political science advocated by Mr. White. He proposes for the purpose a separate post-graduate course and also "a full undergraduate course, which, while including studies in science and literature for general culture and discipline, shall have as its main subjects, history political and social science and general jurisprudence." This is very similar to some of the European schools, and while the good results that it is claimed would flow from it can hardly be doubted, it is still unassured with what favor it would meet if established in this country under the existing political conditions already mentioned,—and, I apprehend, it would not be conceded, to any large extent, that for purposes of general education such an undergraduate course would adequately substitute the classical and scientific instruction that is now in favor. It is true, hopeful advocates of Civil Service Reform, and some platitudes from the regular party platforms promise to relieve the country from these conditions. As soon as this promise is fulfilled, schools of this description will certainly spring up and

flourish. But the Spoils System has, I fear, a stronger hold upon our people than the people themselves are willing to acknowledge. What has been done towards its reform is as yet slight, and is but grudgingly administered by the regular parties. As this system is likely to remain with us for some time longer, let us hope that it is the genius of our institutions,—doomed, like Ariosto's fairy, to appear for a season in a disagreeable form.

But education in social and political science cannot be dismissed because it does not promise pecuniary advantage. In determining a course of study schools must undoubtedly consult the direct interests of the student. It is the prime object of the average student to acquire an education that will be beneficial to himself. But the schools also owe a duty to the public. Colleges are, in a certain sense, private institutions,—but in another sense they are public institutions. Very few, if any, of our colleges are maintained by their students. It has been said of some of our best colleges, that they lose pecuniarily upon every student. Many of the colleges,—our own among the number,—have received appropriations directly from the state. Much larger endowments have been contributed by individuals. Most, if not all of the colleges, subsist upon the means that have been so furnished, as much or more than by the income derived from their students. Indeed the requirements of a first-class college are so great that nothing short of very large endowments can maintain them. But the means that are so furnished, whether by the state or by individuals, are intended for a public purpose. It is a trust to be exercised, not only that students may gain liberal education for their own advantage, but that the public may derive the greater benefit from the presence of men whose training has fitted them for superior usefulness. The dignity and importance of the college, as a factor in the land, depend upon the fidelity with which this trust is administered.

If this view of the office of the college is correct, it cannot but be, that one of its prime objects must ever be, that the men that it sends out shall be useful citizens of the republic,—well

instructed in the nature of our institutions, and thoroughly interested in the affairs of our government.

I am deeply conscious that this sentiment in an address will not be challenged ;—that it will be tolerated because it is deemed innocuous. If, however, it is proposed to impress it upon the college to make room in the curriculum for fuller instruction in social and political science, it will quickly develop opposition. It will be said that it is a sentiment intended for holiday parade, but that it could not be seriously considered in board meeting ; that the country is getting along very well ; that it has thriven wonderfully well upon the small allowance of instruction of this character that the colleges have given it ; that there is no real need for such instruction in the college course.

Those that so reason have indeed the justification of a century's experience. The country has, upon the whole, been well governed. It has passed through the severest trials, and in every crisis it has developed statesmen equal to the emergency, and a people able and willing to perform every duty of free citizenship. And there is, I hope, no one, who does not feel within him, that it will still be able to withstand every wrench and strain and will continually improve. But this is faith and not reason, and while we are to live by faith, yet we have it on high authority, that in things temporal, it is the part of wisdom to exercise as much foresight as we possess.

The conditions under which we live are so constantly changing, that we cannot sit down and trust to the success of that which has succeeded under other circumstances.

The system of our government was adopted when some three or four millions of people constituted the nation. A mighty nation of over sixty millions of people is now to be held within its restraints. Its material interest were few and simple ;—they have grown so that they will probably soon be, in magnitude and extent, beyond those of any nation in the world. Fundamental questions have been raised and settled, some peacefully, and some by the sword ; amendments have been added ; a superstructure, the legislation of a century, has been built upon the fundamental law. Tendencies in society and in government have developed unobserved until they have become threatening.

Amid the pomp and pageant attending the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, at Philadelphia, in September, 1887, when our national advance was contrasted and reviewed,—our flattering success did not make the men of thought, who participated in the celebration, forgetful of the price at which the integrity and permanence of our institutions are maintained. One of the tendencies to which I have referred was on that occasion pointed out by the present Chief Justice of this State, when he said :

"I am no alarmist, and I draw no fancy picture. The centralization of which I speak is going on daily. It is being developed in every avenue of politics, trade and business. * *

"We have now reached one of the great epochs of our history, the era of centralization. We see great corporations springing up, stronger than the people, which absorb to a great extent the business of the country, and, what is worse, aiming in some instances to control its political power. * *

"The people, in their easy good nature, are doing all they can to aid centralization. They confer vast powers upon corporations, and when those powers are directed against themselves, appeal to the Supreme Court to wrest them from those upon whom they have conferred them. This we cannot do."

Other great changes in our conditions have taken place. The average intelligence of our citizens has been enormously lowered by the admission into full citizenship of several millions of freedmen and by the easy naturalization of the vast hordes of ignorant foreigners, who have, in recent years, crowded into the country. It is perfectly well known that the immigrants of the present time, to a very large extent, consist of ignorant classes, with whom their own countries gladly part;—men without means and incapable of any, except the crudest work;—unused to the exercise of suffrage;—ignorant of our institutions and unable to undertake or even understand the duties of citizenship. And yet these are coming so fast, that our population must necessarily suffer in character as it cannot possibly assimilate them. The total of immigrants for the year ending June 30, 1882, was 788,992.

Aside from these marked changes, we are all familiar with many

others, the enumeration and delineation of which has been a feature of all the celebrations which have been held to commemorate the great events of a century ago.

It would be obviously unsafe, therefore, to predicate too freely upon our general past experience. It is more to the point to inquire to what circumstance the phenomenal success of our institutions is to be ascribed. No one, that I am aware, who has critically examined the subject, has omitted from these circumstances or failed to set down as one of the most important of them, the intelligence of the people, and particularly their knowledge of our institutions. It will be remembered that these institutions were established because they embodied the sentiment of the people, a great common sentiment, reached after eventful experience and much mutual concession. Judge Hare, a distinguished scholar and writer upon constitutional law, has pointed out that but for this fact, there might have been no success to celebrate. "It is," says Judge Hare, "owing to their intelligence and patriotism—exercised, it must be admitted, under very favorable conditions—that the constitution has proved so great a success, and that we can look back at the close of a century and say, 'well done.' If they are still the same people as in 1776, and possess the qualities which they displayed during the trying period which preceded the ratification of the constitution, the future is as secure as has been the past."

How, then, stands the question of the intelligence of the people to-day,—and especially their knowledge of our institutions?

The recent publication of Professor Brice's book, "The American Commonwealth," has given us an exceptional opportunity to see ourselves as a people, as others see us. We have in this work the result of the extended observation, careful research and mature reflection of one occupying the best standpoint, and whom talent and experience have most highly qualified for forming a correct judgment upon this subject. I cannot, therefore, do better than to read what this distinguished Englishman has written upon the question which I have proposed.

"The Americans are an educated people, compared with the whole mass of the population in any European country, except Switzerland, parts of Germany, Norway, Iceland and Scotland ;

that is to say, the average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading and thinking more generally diffused than in any other country. (I speak of course of the native Americans, excluding negroes and recent immigrants). They know the constitution of their own country, they follow public affairs, they join in local government and learn from it how government must be carried on, and in particular how discussion must be conducted in meetings, and its results tested at elections. The town meeting has been the most perfect school of self-government in any modern country. * * *

"That the education of the masses is nevertheless a superficial education goes without saying. It is sufficient to enable them to think they know something about the great problems of politics; insufficient to show them how little they know. The public elementary school gives everybody the key to knowledge in making reading and writing familiar, but it has not time to teach him how to use the key. * * So we may say that if the political education of the average American voter be compared with that of the average voter in Europe, it stands high; but if it be compared with the functions which the theory of the American Government lays on him, which its spirit implies, which the methods of its party organization assume, its inadequacy is manifest. * * *

"For the functions of the citizen are not, as has hitherto been the case in Europe, confined to the choosing of legislators, who are then left to settle issues of policy and select executive rulers. The American citizen is virtually one of the governors of the republic. Issues are decided and rulers selected by the direct popular vote. * * As has been said, the instruction received in the common schools and from the newspapers, and supposed to be developed by the practice of primaries and conventions, while it makes the voter deem himself capable of governing, does not completely fit him to weigh the real merits of statesmen, to discern the true grounds on which questions ought to be decided, to note the drift of events and discover the direction in which parties are being carried. He is like a sailor who knows the spars and ropes of the ship, and is expert in working her, but is ignorant of geography and navigation."

The correctness of these observations is so obvious that they need but be stated to receive general assent. Where, then, it must be asked, are the men to come from who are capable of performing those duties of citizenship which are higher than the mass of the people can attain to; the men who in every section of the country are to lead in forming the popular will; the men who are willing and able to keep up the long vigil by which alone our institutions can be maintained. Is this to be left to chance development? Are these men to spring from among those who are attracted to an active participation in politics in the present condition of politics? Are "the politicians" of the country, and particularly of the large cities, the persons to whom ~~those~~ duties can be best entrusted? Are there to be no schools under a government by the people, where government is taught as a science, and shall this important knowledge be acquired only through apprenticeship in practical politics?

The public schools and the newspapers are doing, or probably soon will do, for the mass of the people, in this regard, as much as can be reasonably hoped for. If the schools of "higher education" are to do correspondingly well, they will have to add to their present course of instruction. The attainments of a man of culture ought to embrace a reasonably thorough knowledge of the institutions of our country and of the science of government.

Objection has frequently been made to instruction in particular departments of learning, because it was thought that such instruction was not useful excepting for particular professions or callings. No such objection can ever be raised against instruction in political science. The duties of citizenship are common to all citizens, and the intelligent discharge of those duties implies a knowledge of government. It is cant phrase, that this is a government by the people, and that the people are the rulers; there are few persons that feel any personal responsibilities in consequence of, or in fact accept these things otherwise than as theoretical truths. No one, however, will deny that, notwithstanding a generally good government, there has been a deal of poor government in all branches—in federal, state, and

especially in local government. Who can say that if the educated men of the country were educated in affairs of the public, that much public mischief could not have been prevented. If the theory of self-government is correct, it must follow that the government is better as the type of the citizen is higher.

A year ago we heard from this same place how Christianity rests its hope upon the college. No one can attest better than this association the importance of the college to the church; how the ministers, the leaders in the church, have received some of their most important training for their work at the college; in many cases caught their first inspiration for their work here; how they look to the college as the place from which the men must still come to carry on the work; how, for this reason, they have worked and prayed for the college; how, for the good that they could do to the cause they have espoused, they have counted it an honor to be chosen to preside over or instruct in the college. And the college would be false to itself if it were recreant in its duty to the church. But the college has not failed in this. Almost all the presidents of colleges and a large proportion of the professors have been men of the ministerial profession. The Christian religion is fervently taught in the college, by earnest and capable teachers of religion, not only in the full course of instruction prescribed for the purpose, but in the chapel, in the Bible class, church attendance, and upon every proper occasion when its lessons can be inculcated.

If I have not wholly failed in my argument, then I have shown that the college owes a like duty and can render a like good service to the state. If this duty is once assumed by the colleges, with like earnestness, the public will begin to regard the colleges with a new interest. The college will rise to vastly greater importance in the state when once it is felt that the men it sends out into the world have received instruction to qualify them to take part in the public affairs of their country. It is now a popular impression—I will not venture to say how well it is justified—that the college graduate is not acquainted with public affairs excepting those that happened several thousand years ago in Greece and Rome; and I have seen it stated quite recently in a great public journal that the college instruction, at

present, in many instances, tends rather to make the student despise the institutions of his country than to understand them.

It is not to be expected that such instruction in social and political science, as it is practical to introduce into the regular college course, would insure high scholarship in these sciences on the part of all who receive the instruction. Neither are all college graduates good linguists or good mathematicians. But if two or three in a class would become fairly proficient in these sciences, what an army of men capable of dealing with the affairs of the nation would be raised in a few years by the three hundred and fifty colleges and universities of the land. If the training would not be sufficient to make skillful politicians, it would at least have the effect of creating an interest in public affairs on the part of persons whose interest in any scientific aspect of the subject might otherwise not be aroused. What we want above all things is men, cultured men, who are interested in government. Professor Bryce has said: "In a free country more especially, ten men who care are worth a hundred who do not."

It makes no difference that but very few of the persons so educated may ever be called to an official station. It is one of the happy conditions of our country that one can take part in government without occupying official station. We are ruled by public opinion. It may be thwarted and sometimes is thwarted, for a while, but it prevails in the end. Public opinion is the strongest force in any society. When it is once thoroughly formed, no barriers raised by human hands can withstand it. Amidst despotism it rules slowly and mysteriously, like the Moira of mythology, to whom even the gods were obliged to submit. But in a government by the people, it is the enthroned monarch, whose edicts must be obeyed as soon as they are formally delivered. Under such a government he rules most who contributes most to the public opinion. The mass of the people determine wisely when well informed, but there must be reasons with the arguments that are furnished by the few that think.

There is one advantage in teaching political science which belongs to but few departments. We start with a warm interest,

on the part of the student, in the subject. His understanding of the subject may indeed be shallow, so that in maturer years he usually loses his interest; but in his college days he is apt to be ardent in politics. He is so ardent that it has generally been deemed necessary by colleges to place certain restraints upon his discussion of political questions. This ardor is a force which, if properly directed, may accomplish much good, but otherwise is apt to expend itself in noisy demonstration.

It is not within the scope of this address to consider what particular course of study and instruction will best accomplish the purposes which I have advocated. Ex-President White has pointed out what has been done to this end in several of the schools in Europe; and Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, in several publications of the National Bureau of Education, has shown what has been done and what is now doing in several of the universities of this country. It is peculiarly the province of those experienced in teaching to determine the course. If once the importance of college instruction in political science is recognized there will not be wanting practical means to secure the end. One feature of the system, adopted in the schools of Europe particularly, however seems to me too important to leave unmentioned. It is that political science should be taught by persons who have themselves had experience in public affairs. The same arguments that lead to the selection of a minister of the Gospel to teach Evidences of Christianity and Moral Science, and that call for a physician to teach the laws of health, also require that the instructor of political science shall have knowledge matured in the school of experience. The wisdom of this must already have been felt in our college in the lectures upon the constitution of this state by one who took part in framing it and whose judicial station makes him one of its authoritative interpreters. In this respect, and in other respects, what I have said is more in commendation than in criticism of our college. But in my judgment more remains to be done.

The college, as an institution in the country, has been of inestimable worth. It has given the benefits of liberal and Christian education to every quarter. It has in later years become

more and more an agent for the diffusion of useful knowledge and, to some extent, for original scientific investigation. It will still add to its importance and its usefulness when it will give full recognition to its duty to teach its students a love for and a thorough understanding of the government of our country.

ARTICLE III.

THE MISSOURIANS.

By PROF. A. GRAEBNER, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

Conspicuous among the thousands of strangers assembled at Worms in the days of the Diet, when the monk of Wittenburg stood before the Emperor and the princes and prelates of the empire, was an "embassy from the new island but lately discovered, who wore costly silks and were veiled about the head like a gypsy woman," as the report of an eye-witness gives it. Little was then known of the "new island" in the far west. In a folio edition by Strabo, a copy of which found its way from the Jesuit college of Ingolstadt, where it rested in 1588, to the library of the writer, there is also a map of the Western Hemisphere, presenting the continent of "America or New India," and here a huge mountain-range is made to separate the valley of the St. Lawrence River, extending from what is now Utah or Arizona to the neighborhood of Newfoundland, from the source of a nameless river which flows southward and empties into the Gulf of Mexico. Little did that veiled Mexican or his ermined emperor, or any one else at his first Diet, think that the time would come when hundreds and thousands of adherents of that monk would set their faces toward the "new Island" and stud the valley of that nameless river with hundreds of churches and as many schools in which Luther's Bible and Catechism are read and expounded in the tongue which Charles termed a "language for horses." And as little did Luther himself dream that in the year of the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth, in the heart of that continent beyond the western seas, a school of Lutheran theology, erected without a farthing from state or

crown, would be dedicated in the presence of 20,000 Lutherans convened from the various regions of a country of more than ten times the area of Germany, a land of freedom where neither king nor emperor nor pope may call them to account for their faith or issue bulls and edicts before which the silent solitude of a Wartburg-Patmos must shield from persecution the antagonists of Rome. And even the Pilgrim pioneers of this vast body of Lutherans were far from looking forward to so rich a harvest when fifty years ago they first set foot on the soil to which they had been driven by the deplorably desolate state into which round about Luther's tomb the church of the Reformation had sunk in those days of rankest rationalism.

At the university of Leipzig, one of those high seats of German theology where rationalism was enthroned and ruled supreme, there existed toward the close of the third decade of the present century a small circle of students whom their academic fellow-citizens termed Mystics or Pietists or, less charitably, Hypocrites and Obscurants, who though they were regular in their attendance on lectures, would spend the hours which others devoted to the loud pleasures of the beer mug, in the seclusion of some quiet room, where they might have been found closeted with some obscure volume, the writings of Arndt, Francke, Spener, Rambach, Fresenius, or some other theologian of like character. A theological candidate of riper years and spiritual experience, named Kuehn, was the leader of this little band, and the path he endeavored to point out to his associates was a *via dolorosa* through dark depths of anguish and contrition, a series of experiences like those through which *he* had passed before he found peace and rest in the salvation which is in Christ Jesus.

In the fall of 1829 this circle welcomed a young man of eighteen years,* the son of a clergyman at Langenchursdorf in Saxony, a youth with a good classical education, who had until recently "felt himself born for music only," an art in which he had already become proficient. But when his father had declared that he would set him adrift without a farthing if he

*He was born Oct. 25, 1811, the eighth of twelve children.

should "turn musician," but promised him a thaler a week if he would study theology, the son set his face toward Leipzig and theology, and there we find him, young in years, slender of stature, in delicate health, shifting as best he could with his thaler a week, but turning to every advantage his rare talents and the opportunities for gaining treasures of knowledge offered at the university. At the outset, he had not even a Bible of his own, and when he purchased one from his allowance, he was left penniless, until, on the following day, he received a letter from his father containing the only extra thaler which ever came to him from that source at such a time.

The young student was *Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther*. An elder brother who was also a student at the university, introduced the youth to that circle of Pietists mentioned above. Soon the younger Walther was far gone in the direction in which the influence of Kuehn and others was exerted; his soul was filled with anguish under the pangs of a troubled conscience; sighs and sobs and tears gave evidence of the storm that raged in his bosom and threatened to engulf every hope and to shut out every ray of consoling light which had dawned in his soul. While he was struggling with despair, God used the gentle hand of a woman to draw him from the precipice. The wife of a revenue officer at Leipzig, whose home had been opened to young Walther, perceived the trouble of the pious youth, and from her lips came words of comfort drawn from that ever flowing fountain, the Gospel of Christ, and from her heart many a fervent prayer rose to a throne of grace that the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, might be granted to that troubled soul; and her words and her prayers were abundantly blessed.

Yet God in his wise providence led young Walther to seek spiritual advice and consolation also from another, from a man who was in future years to be instrumental in leading him across the ocean. Martin Stephan was the pastor of a Bohemian congregation which worshipped in St. John's church at Dresden, a preacher who had for years preached to vast multitudes that flocked to his pulpit not for the purpose of hearing words of polished eloquence—for such they would have sought in vain in

that unostentatious church in the suburbs—but because Stephan preached what was then very rarely heard from German pulpits, Christ, and him crucified. Besides, Stephan was renowned far and wide, as a spiritual adviser who had a profound knowledge of the human heart and was ever ready to minister what each individual soul required. This man one day received a letter from a stranger, a student at Leipzig, who disclosed to him his innermost heart and solicited an answer. In due time the answer came, and when Walther held the letter in his hands, and before he broke the seal and read the contents, he prayed to God that he would keep him from accepting vain counsels and consolations, if such should be contained in the pages before him. But after he had read Stephan's letter, he was like one who had been lifted from hell into paradise, and his tears of anguish were changed into tears of joy.

A year and another year passed away, and then young Walther's days seemed nearly numbered; pulmonary disease was doing its work and forced him to relinquish his studies and seek rest and relief at home. During these weary months he found in his father's library the works of Luther, and here he laid the foundation of the intimate acquaintance with the writings of the great Reformer which distinguished him in later years. In the spring of 1832 he returned to the university, improved in health, but without hope of ever becoming physically able to work in the ministry. He completed his studies, passed his first examination, and was then a private tutor from 1834 to 1836. In 1837 he was ordained to the ministry in the village church of Braeunsdorf in Saxony, in the midst of a congregation which for forty years and more had not heard the Gospel of Christ preached from its pulpit and had sunk deep in intellectual, moral and religious depravity. The form of public service, the hymn-book, the school books, were, like the school teacher and the superintendent, steeped in rationalism, and when Walther, true to his vow and to the symbols of the Lutheran Church, which he had sworn to follow and maintain, endeavored to work a change toward sound Lutheranism, stumbling blocks without number were thrown in his way, until his troubled conscience was beset on every side,

and in several cases his orthodoxy led to litigations, of which he was held to pay the costs.

But Walther was not the only Lutheran in Saxony who suffered under the rod of a rationalistic and unionistic regime, and when in those days Stephan, who had as early as 1811 entertained the thought of leading his followers to distant lands, looked toward the United States of America as an asylum of true Lutheranism, to which his attention had been directed by Dr. Benjamin Kurtz of Gettysburg, and finally came forth with a definite plan of emigration, Walther with others caught up the signal given by a man who stood so high in their estimation. In September 1838, as many as 707 persons had entered their names upon the rolls; ministers, school-teachers, lawyers, physicians, artists, gave up their positions, married men and women left their husbands and wives, parents, their children, children, their parents; a part of their joint possessions was turned over to a common treasury; four ships were chartered at Bremen, and a fifth, the *Amalia*, was also occupied by members of the company and three other passengers. All of these ships left Bremerhafen in November 1838. The *Copernicus* arrived at New Orleans on the last day of the same year, the *Johann Georg*, the *Republic*,* and the *Olbers*, in January 1839; the *Amalia* with her crew and passengers disappeared and has never been heard of since.

The passengers of the four ships continued their pilgrimage to St. Louis, then a city of about 16,000 inhabitants. Stephan had prevailed upon his followers to make him their bishop and to sign a document in which they pledged themselves to allegiance and obedience toward their hierarchical leader. He surrounded himself with every kind of luxury, and during the few months of his rule he drew from the common treasury more than 4,000 thalers for his own sustenance and comfort. But to secure a still more unlimited exercise of his power, he aimed at isolating the community under his sway. A tract of land was purchased on the right bank of the Mississippi river in Perry county, Mo., comprising 4,440 acres, and here the emigrants went into camp and amid untold hardships began to build up a

number of Saxon colonies, Wittenberg, Altenburg, Frohna, etc., names which to this day remind the surviving pioneers and their children of the tearful experiences of those times of half a century ago. A small flock of little more than a hundred souls remained in St. Louis and chose the elder Walther for their pastor.

Stephan, who had also repaired to Perry county, ruled like a Pasha. His faith, too, by this time, had become more Mohamedan than Christian. A magnificent episcopal palace had been planned and was in process of construction. Then there came a revelation which fell like a thunderbolt among the colonists. One dark night the younger Walther, of whose tribulations at the university we have spoken above, arrived with a steamer from St. Louis. He came ostensibly to consult with Stephan concerning a number of Lutheran emigrants who had come chiefly from Berlin by way of New York, and were now ready to join the Saxons in the colonies. But to a young theological candidate who had come from New York with the "Berliners," he confided his secret. It was in one of the dormitories for the colonists, and though all of the men seemed fast asleep, the conversation was carried on in Latin, and the Latin sounds attracted the attention of the physician, Dr. B., who was lying on the straw not far away, and he heard, what he and others had suspected before, that Stephan had been leading a life of shameful immorality and had now been found out through the confessions of several of his victims. Soon after, a considerable number of the emigrants who had remained at St. Louis arrived on the steamers *Prairie* and *Toledo*; a formal council was held, and Stephan was solemnly deposed from his office. Provided with ample means of sustenance, he was taken across the Mississippi river in a skiff and landed near Devil's Bakeoven, a grotesque rock at the water's edge. He afterwards found his way into the interior of the State, and 1846 he died in a log cabin a few miles from Red Bud, Illinois.

At first the colonists were stunned and bewildered and knew not what to do. Such had been Stephan's extravagance and mismanagement that the funds of the emigrants were far spent, and abject poverty stared them in the face. The ministers, of

whom there were six, and the several candidates, were troubled by the question whether the colonists constituted Christian congregations with authority to call ministers, and many of the laymen entertained similar doubts concerning the right of the ministers to hold their office here after having left their charges beyond the sea. Walther, too, was for a time tossed about by doubts and fears. But better counsels prevailed, and soon things gained a more favorable aspect. In the midst of all their hardships and poverty, the candidates Fuerbringer, Brohm, and Buenger, with the aid of the ministers Walther, Loeber, and Keyl, had organized a school of learning in which Religion, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, and English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Mental Philosophy, Music, and Drawing were to be taught, and in a log cabin erected by the professors and their friends, the school was opened which has since developed into two distinct institutions, Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Mo., and Concordia College at Ft. Wayne, Ind., both of which are flourishing to-day and have educated hundreds of young men for the ministry in the Lutheran Church. The first Faculty consisted of Ottomar Fuerbringer, Th. Jul. Brohm, and Joh. Fr. Buenger, and the log cabin has been preserved to this day.

The younger Walther was soon the acknowledged leader in the colonies. Stephan had never been quite at ease on Walther's account and had even stigmatized him as his Judas, and when Stephan had been unmasked, it was Walther who fought down the doctrinal errors which that hierarch had taught, that the Lutheran Church was *the* Church, without which there was no salvation, that the ministry was a mediatorship between God and man, and entitled to unconditional obedience in all things not in conflict with the word of God, that questions of doctrine were to be decided by the clergy alone, in whose hands also rested the power of the Keys. With these and similar Romanizing tenets, Stephan had imbued his followers; but with convincing clearness Walther set forth the truth, until it held the field victorious, and at a later day, the weapons tried and found true against Stephanism were again drawn and wielded with

like success in the encounters with Grabau and the Buffalo Synod.

In January 1841, the elder Walther was called to his rest, and his brother was chosen to succeed him as pastor of the "Saxons" at St. Louis, who were then still worshipping in the basement of the Episcopal church. A parochial school was kept in a house on Poplar street. Both the congregation and the school increased rapidly, and in 1842, Trinity church was erected, with a basement for school rooms. In 1844, Cand. Buenger, who since 1841 had been in charge of the school, was made assistant minister to Walther. In the same year, a branch school was opened in another part of the city, and this school was the germ of Immanuel's church, which was organized in 1847 and erected a house of worship in 1848, where henceforth to the end of his days Buenger officiated as pastor.

But while thus the trowel had been busy, the sword had not rusted in the scabbard. Separatistic elements had caused much trouble in the congregation, until their leader was removed by the mighty hand of God.

And another conflict, of greater dimensions and of longer duration, had sprung up. In 1839 another band of German Lutheran emigrants had landed on American soil. They had come under the leadership of Past. Grabau, who had suffered persecution and imprisonment in Prussia for his refusal to submit to the unionistic policy of the Prussian government. At Buffalo, where he had settled with most of his followers, Grabau in 1840 issued a "Pastoral Letter," of which he sent a copy to the Saxon ministers in Missouri with a request for their opinion. The request was granted, but the opinion, though given in the most gentle terms, proved offensive to Grabau, since it expressed dissent as to various points of doctrine. In his Pastoral Letter and the correspondence to which it gave rise, Grabau maintained that a minister not called in accordance with the ancient "*Kirchenordnungen*" was not properly called; that ordination by other clergymen was by divine ordinance essential to the validity of the ministerial office; that God would deal with us only through the ministerial office; that a minister arbitrarily elevated by the congregation was unable to pronounce absolution

and what he distributed at the altar was not the body and blood of Christ, but mere bread and wine; that through her Symbols and Constitutions and Synods the Church at large must decide what is in accordance or at variance with the word of God; that the congregation is not the supreme tribunal in the church, but the synod as representing the church at large; that the congregation is not authorized to pronounce excommunication; that Christians are bound to obey their minister in all things not contrary to the word of God. In all of these points, the Saxons differed from Grabau,—denying what he affirmed, and affirming what he denied. But Grabau, in reply, drew up a list of seventeen charges of error against them and declared that he could no longer consider them Lutheran ministers who adhered to the word of God and the symbols of the Church. Thus the long-continued controversy which was afterwards carried on between the Synods of Buffalo and Missouri had sprung up years before either of these bodies had entered into existence.

The doctrines which the Saxons maintained against Grabau and his followers were not only taught but practiced in Perry county and St. Louis; the congregations not only claimed but exercised what by divine right a Christian congregation should claim and practice, instead of leaving it to the ministry. Church discipline was exercised in accordance with Matt. 18; doctrinal matters were discussed; the college at Altenburg was formally adopted and considerably treated as the foster-child of the congregations, though the means from which the contributions flowed were slender enough.

In 1844, the congregation at St. Louis resolved on the publication of a religious periodical which had been planned by Walther, and in September of that year, the "Lutheraner" made its first appearance. To secure the publication of this and the following numbers, many members had subscribed for two copies, and the congregation had agreed that if the expenses should exceed the receipts, the deficit should be covered from the common treasury or by free contributions. From its very beginning, the "Lutheraner" gave forth a clear and decided, uncompromising ring, and the type of Lutheranism which it advocated was to the generation of those days a strange phenomenon, so

strange that by many it was not even recognized as Lutheranism at all, and chiefly for this reason Walther made it his object to show from the writings of the Fathers of the Lutheran Church that he was not promulgating new tenets, but the doctrines of our Church as laid down in her confessions and in the writings of her best representative teachers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially of Luther, the prophet of the latter days. This, not an undue, unlutheran reverence of the Fathers, prompted Walther to introduce into his doctrinal expositions numerous extracts from the works of those earlier theologians; not as authorities, but as witnesses he called them forth from the dust of oblivion, and before many years Germany was being ransacked for those old parchment-bound volumes, covered with mould and cobwebs, and Jewish dealers wondered what people wanted with those mummies in the American backwoods whence came the growing demand, and by and by astonishing prices were paid for what had long lain unnoticed as unmarketable dross.

Among the few who hailed with joy the first number of the "Lutheraner" was another pioneer of western Lutheranism, a man whose name will be pronounced with reverence as long as a Lutheran church remains in America: Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken, who landed at Baltimore about half a year before the Saxons trod the banks of the Mississippi. He was a man of powerful frame and a well educated mind, fiery and energetic,—filled with a burning zeal to carry the Gospel of Christ to his countrymen in the western solitudes, of whose wants he had learned through missionary magazines in the old world. After a brief sojourn among the Methodists, whose prayer-meetings he had witnessed with wonder and doubt, he found the Rev. Mr. Haesbaert, who after an acquaintance of a week left him in charge of his congregation, while he retired to the country in search of health. After his return, he recommended Wyneken to the missionary committee of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and soon we find the young missionary laboring amid hardships and privations in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan, traversing the forests and prairies on foot and on horseback in fair and in foul weather,

by day and by night, and sowing the seeds of life in a spiritual wilderness.

Fort Wayne, Indiana was then a small country-town. The first German and at the same time the first Lutheran who had settled here was Henry Rudisill, who with his wife, a daughter of the Henkel family, had arrived in this community of Frenchmen and Indians in 1829. But a Lutheran he would remain, and by his endeavors a current of German immigration was led to Fort Wayne and vicinity. In 1837, a congregation was organized with Rev. Jesse Hoover, a member of the Pennsylvania Synod, as its pastor. Hoover, too, was a young man of fair talents, a zealous and restless missionary, and with his young wife, who took boarders for a living, he cheerfully shared the poverty of his people in those days when at times there was not a pinch of flour in all Fort Wayne. But when in the fall of 1838 Wyneken first set his foot into the town, the Germans were without a minister; for in May young pastor Hoover had been laid to rest. At the urgent request of the orphaned congregation, Wyneken established his headquarters at Ft. Wayne. The Lutherans had neither church nor parsonage; they worshipped in the court-house until the building threatened to fall, then here and there, until the little frame church erected in 1839 afforded them shelter from wind and weather. From Ft. Wayne Wyneken continued his extended missionary excursions, until a painful disease of the throat interrupted his labors. In 1841 he went to Germany for treatment. But even before this he had contemplated a voyage to the Old World, and for a purpose which he now carried out. As soon as his health was sufficiently restored, he started out to agitate the cause of the church in America; by personal solicitations he engaged the sympathies of a number of prominent men, and by public addresses as well as through a brilliant pamphlet he inspired into thousands of hearts a feeling of responsibility for the brethren in the New World. Dr. Sihler, Ernst, Buerger, Biewend and others were among the first fruits of the harvest which Wyneken thus garnered for America. Wucherer began the publication of a periodical for the promotion of the American cause; and when, a few years later, W. Löhe circulated through Ger-

many a fraternal call to the German Lutheran church in America, nearly a thousand men of various ranks and stations gave it their signatures.

But Wyneken had also profited largely by what he had heard and seen and done in Germany. When he returned in 1843, he had ripened into a man of mature powers and of confirmed Lutheran convictions. The "Synod of the West," of which he was a member, he now felt convinced was not in truth a Lutheran body, and he was not the man to conceal what was in his heart. When at the meeting of 1844, which took place in Fort Wayne, Rudisill, encouraged by Wyneken himself, impeached his pastor, whom he had been led to suspect of Romanizing tendencies, the result was a complete vindication of Wyneken's Lutheranism in the eyes of his congregation.

It was in those troubled days that the first number of the "Lutheraner" appeared, and when Wyneken had perused it, he joyfully exclaimed: "Thank God! There are more Lutherans in America!" Soon Wyneken and the "Lutheraner" were companions in arms, both being violently assailed by the Methodists, the "Lutheraner" for its articles, Wyneken for his portraiture of Methodism in his German pamphlet, which had been reprinted in America.

Great joy was also awakened by the first number of the "Lutheraner" at Pomeroy, O., where Dr. Sihler was then stationed, one of the men whom Wyneken had drawn westward. He was then an ordained minister, a member of the Synod of Ohio, and was endeavoring in various ways to exert his influence against certain features of doctrine and practice which claimed his attention. One day, early in 1845, while Sihler was instructing his catechumens, a horseman alighted at his door, and a moment later, Wyneken introduced himself to personal acquaintance. He was on his way to Baltimore, whither he had been called to succeed his friend Haesbaert, and he had now come to behold the face of the man who was to be his successor at Fort Wayne.

Soon after the Doctor's arrival at this place, where he was to serve the Master for forty years to come, another fruit of Wyneken's sojourn in Germany was planted in American soil and

entrusted to the care of Wyneken's successor in the pastorate of St. Paul's.

Among the men whom Wyneken had won to the American cause was Wilhelm Loehe, a clergyman of Neuendettelsau in Franconia, and Loehe not only gathered about him a number of young men whom he gave a practical preparation for the ministry in America, but he also conceived and executed the plan of opening a seminary for the same purpose in the New World. For the site of this nursery he selected Fort Wayne, and in 1846 he sent over eleven young men together with a talented candidate of theology by the name of Roebbelen, who with Dr. Sihler was to give these young men and others who might be recruited in America a training which would in a few years fit them for missionary and pastoral work among the Germans in this country. This was the beginning of the "Practical Seminary" which was at a later date combined with the "Theological Seminary" at St. Louis and, still later, transplanted to Springfield, Ill., where it is flourishing to-day, and where, by the side of the venerable Prof. Craemer, one of Wyneken's sons is engaged in educating numerous young men for the service of the Lord's vineyard.

We have dwelt at some length upon those pioneer days because in portraying to the reader those early events and the ways and means employed by the men who have hitherto held the foreground in our narrative, we have presented what is on a more extended scale and in a wider field going on to-day in the Synod of Missouri. Still the voices of preachers are heard in the wildernesses; scores of traveling missionaries are traversing the forests and prairies of the North, South, East, and West; congregations are gathered, and where the word is being preached to the old, schools are opened for the young; small churches are built at first, which, in time, give place to larger ones, and, when the means of the congregation permit, a school-master is called to the minister's side, both ministers and teachers coming from the colleges and seminaries, (a teachers' seminary is sustained by the Synod at Addison, Ill.,) the humble beginnings of which we have witnessed, and those schools are still

the cherished foster-children of the churches. Purity and unity of doctrine are still being guarded and propagated and defended, while brotherly fellowship with others who hold the same ground in doctrine and practice is still sought and cherished, as it was sought and cherished by Walther and Wyneken and their brethren in the colonial period which we have endeavored to sketch.

In the spring of 1846, Dr. Sihler and two other ministers, Ernst and Lochner, had a conference with Walther and other Saxon Ministers at St. Louis. Sihler and Ernst had severed their connection with the Synod of Ohio. Wyneken had given strength to the movement at a conference held at Cleveland in 1845. The formation of a new synod was now taken into consideration by the congregation at St. Louis and the clergymen there assembled. In nine meetings the draft of a constitution, in which every vestige of hierarchical leaven had been most carefully avoided, was discussed, and in the last of these meetings it was resolved that a similar conference be held in the same year at Ft. Wayne. This conference met in July; sixteen ministers were present. Six others had signified their full sympathy with the object in view. The constitution with a few modifications being approved, it was resolved to complete the formal organization of the synod at Chicago in April 1847. There the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States" was formed by twelve congregations, twenty-two ministers and two candidates. Under the constitution which was adopted and signed at this meeting and, with a few alterations, is in force to-day, only those ministers whose congregations had entered into membership with the Synod, and the lay delegates by whom some of these congregations were represented, were entitled to suffrage, other ministers being only advisory members. The first permanent officers were Walther, Pres., Dr. Sihler, Vice-Pres., Husmann, Secr., F. W. Barthel, Treas. The "Lutheraner" was made the official organ of the Synod with Walther as editor. A missionary committee was chosen, and various other measures gave evidence of the earnestness with which the assembly entered upon the task of building up Zion in the land of their pilgrimage.

Here, then, was a Lutheran synod which declared in its constitution that the acceptance of all the symbols of the Lutheran Church without exception or reserve, abstinence from every kind of syncretism, from mixed congregations and mixed services and communions, permanent, not temporary or licensed, ministry, the use of purely Lutheran books in churches and schools, should be and remain conditions of membership with this body, but which, on the other hand, claimed no authority over the congregations connected with it, thus leaving intact the freedom of the churches, a feature which led Grabau to prophesy that within ten years this body so constituted would be shattered into a thousand fragments. When in 1866 the Buffalo Synod and even Grabau's own congregation went to pieces, and only three ministers adhered to their leader, the number of its ministers in the Missouri Synod was little short of three hundred, larger than in any other synod in America at that time.

On the last day of the first meeting at Chicago, a resolution was passed to invite pastor Loehe of Neuendettelsau to attend the meeting of the coming year, which was to be held at St. Louis. Loehe did not come to that meeting, but letters had arrived which announced that another wish expressed at Chicago had been fulfilled; Loehe had made over to the Synod the Seminary at Ft. Wayne. The cordial friendship between him and Missouri continued for several years. But doctrinal difficulties arose. In a pamphlet which Loehe published in 1849 he spoke of the ministerial office in terms very much like those of Grabau. About the same time letters to Loehe from America presented in an unfavorable light the doings of the Missourians, and Loehe soon entertained thoughts of gaining a new basis for his operations in America. In the Saginaw valley, in Michigan, several Franconian colonies had been planted under his guidance and were still in communication with him, and in 1850 he had matured a plan of erecting what he termed a "Pilgerhaus" at Saginaw, a peculiar combination of a temporary home for colonists, a hospital, a theological seminary for Michigan, all united in a little commonwealth which was to be regulated by a liturgical rule which would give it the character of "a kind of protestant cloister." For the management of this invention and

the leadership of the work of which it was to be the centre, Loehe had singled out a talented young theologian who had from early boyhood been under his influence, and after completing his theological studies at the University of Erlangen, had gained renown as a teacher and preacher. This man was Gottlieb Schaller; him Loehe had in 1848 directed to America, and although Schaller had in 1849 become a member of the Missouri Synod, Loehe still hoped to see his Timothy in the position which he now held out to him. But when in 1850 the Synod of Missouri met at St. Louis, Schaller was, after a warm discussion which extended through several sessions, fully convinced by Walther's arguments that Loehe erred, and Loehe's Timothy afterwards labored for many years by Walther's side as minister of Trinity church and Professor of Theology in Concordia Seminary at St. Louis, where they were both laid to rest in 1887.

The "Pilgerhaus," however, was opened in 1852. Its leader was not a "Missourian." It was afterwards removed to Iowa, and with it went Loehe's heart, who thus virtually became the founder of the Iowa Synod, whose present President was the first principal of the Pilgerhaus.

Before things had taken this course, the Synod had spared no endeavors to prevent the impending rupture between Missouri and the man who had done so much for the Lutheran Church in the West. In 1851 the matter was laid before the Synod convened at Milwaukee, and so important did the continuation of friendship and fraternal coöperation with Loehe appear to the Missourians, that it was decided to send a delegation to Germany on a mission of peace. One of the delegates chosen was Walther, then Professor of Theology and President of Concordia College, for which position he had been elected in 1849, when the institution at Altenburg was removed to St. Louis. The other delegate was Wyneken, one of Loehe's dearest friends and a man eminently fitted for this task, whom at the previous meeting the Synod had called to the presidency. But though many difficulties were overcome, a complete understanding was not reached by the series of interviews between Loehe and the American delegates; the kind feelings which were renewed were

but of brief duration ; and, what was even more deplorable, the new synod which grew up under the influence of Neuendettelsau shared Loehe's doctrinal positions and his antagonism to Missouri and was soon in open warfare with this body.

Among the points at issue between the synods of Iowa and Missouri during the strife, the end of which is not yet, were the doctrines of the Church, Missouri holding that the Church of Christ is invisible, while Iowa recognized a visible and an invisible side ; "open questions," with which Iowa classed the doctrines of the Church, the Ministry, Chiliasm, Antichrist, while Missouri maintained that these doctrines are clearly set forth in Scriptures and are therefore open questions in no sense ; the doctrine that the Roman pontiff is the Antichrist foretold Dan. 11 and 2 Thess. 2, which Missouri affirmed, while Iowa holds that the Antichrist in the strictest sense of the word is an individual person to be expected before the end of the world ; Chiliasm, which Missouri rejected in its subtle as well as in its crass forms, holding that the resurrection of all the dead will take place at the second coming of Christ on the day of judgment, while Iowa held that not every form of Chiliasm must be rejected, that some first fruits of the dead may be expected to rise before the judgment day ; the question to what extent subscription to the symbols of the Church enjoins the acceptance of the doctrines laid down in such symbols, concerning which Missouri held that one who subscribes the symbols unconditionally thereby declares acceptance of all the doctrines laid down in such symbols, while Iowa claimed that to be of binding force a doctrine must be stated in the symbols *ex professo*, not only occasionally, and that, therefore, a distinction must be made between the doctrines contained in the symbolical books. These points were discussed in a colloquy by representatives of both synods who met at Milwaukee in 1867 ; but no satisfactory result was reached.

A similar "colloquium" had in 1866 been brought about between representatives of the Buffalo Synod and that of Missouri. While Grabau had been at the helm, he had thwarted all endeavors in this direction ; he had in his "Informatorium" branded Walther and his followers as heretics. Walther had in 1852 published his book on "the Church and the Ministerial Office,"

which had previously been laid before and approved by the Synod. In this book Walther showed by numerous extracts from the symbols of the Lutheran Church and from the writings of her orthodox teachers what former centuries had voiced forth as the Lutheran doctrine on these subjects. Now, shortly after Grabau's exodus, three ministers and as many laymen of each synod met at Buffalo, and with one exception all of the representatives of the Buffalo Synod were brought into full harmony with the Missourians, so that, when in February 1867 twelve ministers and five lay delegates of the Buffalo Synod were assembled at Buffalo with five Missourians, a formal recognition of fraternal unity was sealed, and the near future saw eleven of the twelve ministers as members of the Synod of Missouri.

In 1872 the synod celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its first organization. The meetings were held in Mercantile Library Hall at St. Louis, and here it appeared to all eyes that conventions of all the ministers and school teachers and of lay delegates from all the congregations of the synod were no longer practicable. The synod then numbered 428 ministers and 251 school teachers, and the numbers were fast increasing. It was therefore decided that thenceforth from two to seven congregations should delegate one minister and one layman to the triennial meetings of the general body, which had years ago been divided into four District Synods.

At this jubilee meeting was also discussed the draft of the constitution of the *Synodical Conference*, a union of Lutheran Synods which was soon after, in July 1872, completed at Milwaukee. As early as 1856, Walther had in "*Lehre und Wehre*," the theological monthly which appeared under his editorship since January 1855, given the first impulse to a movement which before the close of the year resulted in a convention of 54 clerical and 19 lay representatives of four synods, those of Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Missouri. Similar meetings followed in 1857 and 1858, but no permanent organization was effected. When in 1866 the General Council was organized, the Synod of Missouri was prevented from entering into union by obstacles, some of which contributed toward causing Ohio and Iowa to stand aloof, the former entirely, the latter in

theory, though not in practice, and which are the substance of the "four points" which have driven the synods of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Michigan from the ranks of the Council.

The synods which were represented at the first meeting of the Synodical Conference were those of Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and the Norwegian Synod, which had previously by colloquia between representatives convinced themselves of each other's orthodoxy. Of these synods the Synod of Illinois was afterwards merged into that of Missouri. For a number of years, the remaining synods worked together in harmony of faith, until the great "predestinarian controversy" led to a rupture which has not yet been healed.

This controversy did not come unforeseen. On the floor of the jubilee synod in 1872, a hard struggle had been predicted, and when the new decade was ushered in, the struggle had begun. It was Prof. Schmidt, formerly Professor of the Norwegian Synod in Concordia Seminary at St. Louis, then Professor in the Norwegian Seminary at Madison, Wis., who first within the Synodical Conference raised his voice in public against the doctrine of predestination as set forth in the reports of 1877 and 1879 of the Western District of the Missouri Synod. He directed his attack especially against the position held by Walther and the Synod that God's predestination is a cause of our salvation and of everything thereto pertaining, faith and perseverance in faith not excepted, that in the decree of predestination the faith of the elect was not presupposed, but included. Soon the contest waxed very hot; members of the Missouri Synod contributed articles to the periodical which Prof. Schmidt published as the organ of his warfare. Walther and the Missourians were desirous of bringing about an understanding, and in January 1881, the theological Faculties and the Presidents of synods and district synods in the Synodical Conference responded to a call by the acting president of this body to join in a colloquium at Milwaukee. When five days of earnest debate had brought the dissenting parties no nearer to each other, and the representatives of Ohio could remain no longer, the colloquium was closed. The proposal to meet for a similar colloquy at a future date and to refrain from polemical articles meanwhile,

was rejected by Prof. Schmidt, and the challenge was taken by the other side. As the controversy proceeded, the doctrine of conversion came to the foreground. Here Missouri maintained that conversion is the work of divine grace alone, wrought through the means of grace, which, though they come with equal power and earnestness to all, do not attain the same results in all; but that this mystery must not be explained away by denying with Calvin the earnest will of God to convert all, nor by denying the same utter depravity in all men, that spiritual death which incapacitates all alike to concur in their own conversion; that the conversion of sinners rests in God's grace alone, and they can in no way or measure be credited with their own conversion; that the non-conversion of sinners rests in their own hardness of heart alone, and God is in no wise the cause of their non-conversion. The other side held that the effect wrought by the grace of God in the work of conversion depended in a measure on man's conduct toward the means of grace. This explanation Missouri rejects as synergistic, while Ohio denounces Missouri's position as Calvinistic.

The controversy led to the separation of Ohio and the Norwegians from the Synodical Conference, the Norwegian Synod severing its connection with the Germans because thus they hoped to meet with less difficulty in overcoming the commotion created in their midst by this controversy, in which their professor played so prominent a part.

The inward profit which came to the Synod of Missouri and the synods still connected with it in the Synodical Conference from this controversy was great. Hundreds and thousands of its members were led to a deeper and clearer understanding of the truths at issue, and a habit of careful and extended research in the Scriptures and the Symbols was deepened and strengthened in many, both ministers and laymen.

Nor was the outward progress of the synod stayed by the great controversy. From 1878 to 1888 the synod has well nigh doubled the number of its ministers. The joint synod at present consists of thirteen district synods, the Western, the Middle, the Eastern, the Illinois, the Iowa, the Canada, the Wisconsin, the Minnesota and Dakota, the Nebraska, the Southern, the

California and Oregon, and the Kansas Districts. The number of ministers, including the Professors in the colleges and seminaries, according to the statistics of 1888, is 1030, the number of school teachers, 617, that of congregations, not including unorganized missions, 1480, that of communicant members, at a low estimate, 279,150. The missions of the synod are the Home Missions carried on among the Germans in this country by the District Synods, Emigrant Missions in New York and Baltimore, Missions among the Jews, English Mission, and conjointly with other synods of the Synodical Conference, a Negro Mission. The higher institutions of learning for the education of ministers and school teachers are, besides those mentioned in the narrative and still in operation, a college at Milwaukee, Wis., a preparatory collegiate institute at Concordia, Mo., and another in New York. In these schools upward of 900 students were in 1888 instructed by 40 professors. Of benevolent institutions, there are within the synod an institute for the deaf and dumb at Norris, Mich., eleven asylums for orphans and invalids, and several hospitals. The periodicals published of the synod are "Der Lutheraner," "Lehre und Wehre," a homiletical magazine, and an educational monthly; of the Synodical Conference, the "Missionstaube" and the "Lutheran Pioneer;" besides, eight religious periodicals published by conferences, societies, or individuals within the synod of Missouri. The synod publishes its own hymn-books, school-books, Bibles, prayer-books, almanacs, etc., all of which, together with the periodicals and a voluminous theological literature contained in the synodical reports and other publications in the form of books and pamphlets, issue from the synod's Concordia Publishing House, the total receipts of which in 1888 were \$152,357.30.

Of the patriarchs of the Missouri Synod, but few are now among the living here below. Wyneken, the venerable father, was president of the joint synod from 1850 to 1864, when Walther was again elected to this office. In 1876, Wyneken, after a protracted illness, fell peacefully asleep in Jesus at San Francisco, Cal. Walther, who had received the title of Doctor Theologiae from Capital University of Columbus, O., was relieved

of the presidency in 1878, when the present incumbent, Rev. H. C. Schwan of Cleveland, O., was chosen. Yet the eve of Walter's life was a time of vigorous activity in the service of the Master. He wrote copiously for the press; he presented theses at synodical meetings, at which he was eminently the theological teacher; he was regular in his lectures to the students of the seminary from which hundreds of his pupils have gone forth into the ministry. When at the meeting of the Western District in 1868 he had completed a series of eloquent theological discussions, each of which had lasted several hours, he closed with tears and in faltering accents; he felt that his work was done. His physical energies were fast failing, and the synod unanimously resolved that he should rest. The new term at the seminary was opened without him. During the feeble months which followed, the congregations at St. Louis and many of his brethren from various parts of the synod joined in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the ministry. Time passed on, and the venerable Doctor was slowly but steadily sinking, and while, in the spring of 1887, the joint synod was in session at Fort Wayne, on the 7th of May, the Lord called his weary servant to his eternal rest. Thousands of members of the Missouri Synod and of sister synods, from all parts of the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf, formed the greatest funeral procession St. Louis has witnessed, as they followed the precious dust of this great man in Israel to its last repose.

ARTICLE IV.

THE REASON OF THE MOSAIC LAW.

By HON. J. WARREN KEIFER, Ex-Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives, Springfield, O.

The narrow plain of Shechem in Palestine is situate between Mounts Ebal on the north and Gerizim on the south. The faces of these mounts, toward this plain, constitute two vast, natural amphitheatres. Modern travelers tell us there is also here, between these mounts, a natural whispering gallery, where a man with a distinct voice, in the clear air of Palestine can make himself heard through all the vale, and far up the mountain galleries.

At the end of the forty years wandering in the wilderness by the children of Israel, soon after they had crossed Jordan, and preparatory to their separation to possess their respective allotments of lands, with the Ark of the Covenant in their midst, in which Moses had deposited a copy of the law written by himself just before ascending Mount Nebo to die, and with the twelve tribes of Israel assembled in the plain and upon the slopes of Mounts Ebal (whereon was "an altar unto the Lord God of Israel,") and Gerizim, numbering, with the strangers in their midst, above 3,000,000 souls, Joshua, complying with a last commandment of Moses, read to its last word, that law of which I am here to speak. Joshua 8 : 34, 35.

It was heard by the multitude of people gathered there and they swore to its observance by them, and to perpetuate it for the generations to come after them.

For dramatic, solemn grandeur this scene has never been equaled or surpassed, and perhaps will not be, short of the Judgment Day.

About 3,500 years, crowded with momentous events, have gone by since then ; nations have been born and have passed away since that eventful day, but the law, thus read, has survived, and in principal part, is still in force for the guidance of

the dispersed tribes of Israel wherever they may be found on the face of the earth ; and the moral part thereof is still in force, and woven into, and has become, and it will continue to be, the eternal basis of the codes of laws of all progressive civilized nations of the world.

I shall only here consider the Mosaic law as a civil code, and try to give some of the reasons for its establishment.

This law may be defined : the institutions of Moses by divine commandment, or the code of laws prescribed to the Hebrews, as distinguished from the Gospel. The Old Testament is divided into the "law and the prophets."

The Mosaic law is mandatory, prohibitory and permissive. Its main division is into moral and ceremonial laws.

The moral law, perscribes religious and social duties ; duties to God and between persons. It has been beautifully said to be, "summarily contained in the decalogue, or ten commandments written by the finger of God, on two tables of stone (Ex. 31 : 18) and delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai."

The ceremonial laws of Moses are institutions which prescribe the external rites and ceremonies to be observed, as distinct from the moral precepts, which are of universal and perpetual obligation.

Whilst ever keeping in mind that Moses was a minister through whom, God gave the law to the Israelites, "his chosen and peculiar people," I shall not shrink from looking into that law for the reason of it ; and into biblical and profane history for evidence of its wisdom.

I am well aware that there are yet many persons who refuse to search for a reason for a divine precept ; believing that no reason, comprehensive to the human mind can be given.

They suppose if any arguments can be advanced, which are deduced from the advantages in this world, derivable from the precepts, it is depreciating them to the level of mere human reason and sagacity ; but if no present discoverable advantage or utility can be assigned for them, it is proof positive that they are derived from God, since they are incomprehensible to the human mind. This mode of reasoning supposes man to be more perfect than his creator ; that man acts with reason and

design in all he does and says, but that God commands us to do those things, from the performance or neglect of which, we shall derive no present benefit or sustain no injury discoverable to the human mind.

The Creator himself says, the design of all his precepts is to promote happiness.

In Deut. 6 : 20-24 it is written : "And when the son asketh thee in time to come what mean the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments, which the Lord thy God hath commanded you? then thou shalt say unto thy son we were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt: and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand: * * and the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us alive, as it is at this day." It is also written in Deut. of the law: "This is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the nations which shall hear all these things." (6 : 6). And again, "Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people." (Deut. 6 : 6). These divine words show, that all nations will understand the Mosaic statutes to be replete with the highest wisdom and intelligence. If the reason or causes of them were hidden, and no utility could be discovered in them, for producing good or warding off evil, why should it be said of those who receive and follow them, that they are a "wise and understanding people:" or that they are wise in the sight of the nations which shall know them?

It must be, because, in some way or other, the precepts of the law are advantageous, either by teaching some salutary principle, or by eradicating some pernicious notion; by instituting some profitable regulation, or banishing some vice; or by inciting to worthy and laudable actions, or preventing sinful and vicious ones. The study of the law has made me an admirer of it.

To assail any part of it as unrighteous and unwise, considering the circumstances and condition of the people to whom it was given, and the age in which they lived, would be to expose one's own folly, if indeed it were not sacrilegious.

That the law was given to the Hebrews for their government

through all ages, and to be a guide to all other nations under whatsoever circumstances they may exist, I deny.

That the moral teachings of the law have been adopted by all wise, civilized nations to the present day, must be admitted by the student and historian. A thorough knowledge of the Mosaic law serves to establish a conviction that it is not, save the moral part, binding or obligatory on us. The law was not held by Moses, save the moral precepts, to be unalterable, but was, in process of time, to admit of alteration, as circumstances and the condition of the Jewish people changed. For example, when commerce under Solomon arose to a great height, trade between the Jews and other nations and with the different tribes, made it necessary to give and take interest, previously prohibited, hence a rate of interest was allowed.

Moses did not expressly forbid commerce, yet the main scope and spirit of his laws were to keep the Israelites at a distance from it, especially by sea. Solomon, however, availed himself of the situation of his people to enrich them by an extensive maritime commerce.

By the law of Moses, Ex. 22 : 1, a thief was required to make restitution four and five fold, but in Solomon's time, it is stated, Prov. 6 : 31, at seven fold. In Ezekiel 47 : 22, we learn that a stranger is given the full right of citizenship which was not tolerated in Moses' time. Moses allowed a common priest to marry a widow : but the stricter law of Ezekiel prohibits this, unless she was a widow of a priest.

Moses himself sometimes altered his own laws, and particularly those relating to punishments. His first statutes merely prohibited the taking of interest from poor Israelites ; but as there was room here for chicanery and evasion, he forbade it altogether among the Israelites, permitting it only to be exacted from foreigners. While the Israelites continued in the Arabian Deserts, Moses ordained, as well for the extirpation of idolatry and private sacrifices as for the maintenance of the priests, that every Israelite who killed an ox, sheep or goat should bring it as an offering unto the Lord. They were not permitted to eat flesh, but at the sacrificial feasts, and it is expressly said : "This shall be to them a statute forever throughout their generations."

Yet Moses afterwards ordained, that when they should enter the promised land, it should then "be lawful for them to kill their cattle anywhere and eat them as common food. Deut. 12 : 20-22.

In order to trace the objects sought to be attained by the Mosaic law, and the reasons for its establishment, it is essential that we look into the history and character of the Israelites prior to their receiving it. For this purpose I shall briefly trace their origin and history.

The history of the Hebrews begins about two thousand years before Christ, with the emigration of the Semite, Abraham, from Ur of the Chaldees.

He was first designated by the name Hebrew in the land west of the Euphrates, as an immigrant from beyond Eber, "the Great River." By some, it is claimed, that the name comes from Eber of whom he was a descendant by his father Terah. The name Israelite was applied to Abraham's descendants after a surname of Jacob, and that of Jew at a much later period, about 712 years B. C., and when the house of Judah became the representative of the whole people. From Mesopotamia, separating from his idolatrous relatives, Abraham passed over to Canaan or Palestine where he lived a nomadic life, becoming rich in herds, flocks and servants, and worshipping the "Creator of heaven and earth," to whose service he bound himself and house in after life by the covenant of circumcision. He removed to Egypt during a famine and returned; lived for some time in the land of the Philistines; and finally settled near Hebron where he died, leaving his main inheritance and his faith to Isaac his son, by his wife and half sister Sarah.

Isaac became the second Hebrew patriarch, while Ishmael, the son of Abraham by Hagar an Egyptian woman, took up his abode, and became the head of a Bedouin tribe in Arabia. Isaac left two sons only, Jacob, afterwards Israel, and Esau. Esau being a hunter by choice settled in the mountains of Idumea, having been by Jacob, through the chicanery of Rebecca their mother, cheated out of his birthright and father's blessing.

Jacob, the favored son of Rebecca, imitated the peaceful and pious life of his fathers and propagated the Hebrew line in Pales-

time. He had twelve sons of whom he distinguished Joseph and Benjamin, the children of his favorite wife Rachel. Joseph, the elder of the two, excited the envy of his brethren who plotted to take his life but secretly sold him as a slave to Egyptian traders, to which country he was conveyed. In Egypt, Joseph rose through his wisdom to the dignity of prime minister to the reigning Pharaoh. He permitted Joseph on account of the existing famine in Canaan to bring his father and family, numbering at that time seventy males, from the land of Canaan to the Egyptian country, and to settle them in the province of Goshen, where they were at first permitted to continue their former pastoral life unmolested by the Egyptians, who held that mode of life in supreme contempt.

They were also permitted to live secluded from the contamination of Egyptian idolatry. Jacob adopted for his own Manasseh and Ephraim, two sons of Joseph, and blessed all his children and died in Egypt but was taken by Joseph and his other children, with an immense pageantry, to the land of Canaan and buried in the cave of Macpelah the burial place of his fathers. After Jacob's death the Israelites were divided into thirteen (commonly called twelve, regarding Ephraim and Manasseh as half tribes) distinct tribes, known by the name of his eleven sons and his two adopted sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. Jacob on his death bed gave his blessing to each of his twelve sons in which he delineated and prophesied the peculiar character and future history of each. Gen. 40 : 9.

Joseph, the sole protector in Egypt of his brethren, died soon after his father, in Egypt, having first prophesied that God would visit them and bring them out of the land of Egypt to the land which he had given "to Abraham to Isaac and to Jacob." Gen. 40 : 24.

After Joseph's death the Hebrews were oppressed and degraded to the condition of slaves, were overtaxed, overburdened, forced to abandon the peaceful, pastoral life of their fathers, and compelled to perform all sorts of menial service at the hands of an Egyptian aristocracy. The Egyptian rule tolerated slavery prior to, and at the time of the enslavement of the Hebrews.

They continued in their bondage for a period of, according to scriptural testimony, 430 years. Ex. 12 : 40.

During the time they were in the "house of slaves" they increased to prodigious numbers.

Moses, the younger son of Amram, of the tribe of Levi, born at the time when the oppression of his people had reached its acme, was doomed like all new-born males to perish in the Nile but was saved by the artifice of his mother Jochebed and the compassion of a daughter of Pharaoh. The doom fixed by the Egyptian tyrant, was to lead to the final extinction of the Hebrew race, fears having arisen in consequence of their great numbers that they would rise in insurrection, throw off their bondage, and unite with a foreign foe and thus endanger Egyptian power.

Moses was adopted by the princess, who also gave him his name (*Mo*, water and *udshe*, saved) in allusion to her having saved him from the water; but being nursed by his mother, he preserved the habits and feelings of a Hebrew, while he acquired the highest Egyptian education.

"When Moses was grown he went out unto his brethren and looked on their burdens." Ex. 2 : 11. Seeing an Egyptian smiting one of his brethren he slew him and finding that this deed was made known to Pharaoh, and that he sought his life, he fled to the land of Midian. He there took up the pastoral life of his fathers, by tending the flocks of his father-in-law, leading them into the country about Mounts Horeb and Sinai in the south of the peninsula between the Gulfs of the Red Sea.

In the decline of his life he was moved to return to Egypt and become the "Shepherd of his people." With his brother Aaron, as spokesman, he assembled the elders of Israel and announced to them, in the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who, "had seen their affliction," their approaching deliverance and return to Canaan. Ex. 3 : 7, 15, 16. He repaired, as directed by the Lord, to the palace of the king and made himself "great in the sight of Pharaoh's servants and in the sight of the people." Ex. 11 : 3. He demanded that the children of Israel should be released from bondage and permitted to go forth to

their promised land, which demand, the king was compelled to accede to, by a series of disasters, which threatened the existence of his subjects, the last of which was the destruction of all the first-born Egyptians. Ex. 12 : 29. The children of Israel rose up went forth by night, under the leadership of Moses, and took with them their flocks and their herds; and "jewels of silver and jewels of gold and raiment" and "such things as they required" which they borrowed from the Egyptians, the Lord having given his chosen people favor through fear, in their sight. Ex. 12 : 35, 36. Moses led his people across the northern extremity of the Gulf of Akabah, a prolongation of the Red Sea, and they were "about 600,000 on foot that were men, besides children," Ex. 12 : 37, 38, "and a mixed multitude went up also with them.

Pharaoh repented of what he had done, pursued them with his horsemen, war chariots and his army, but his hosts perished "in the midst of the sea."

Moses, having repulsed the attacks of predatory and roving Arabian tribes, led the people to Mount Sinai, where he received the ten commandments.

This divine decalogue contains the fundamental points of every moral legal code; "Honor thy father and thy mother," &c., "Thou shalt not kill," &c., and also includes the sublime truth of monotheism, (one God) the great social and moral institution of the Sabbath, and the high moral precept; "Thou shalt not covet." Ex. 20 : 3-18. These commandments, which formed the basis of a "covenant between God and Israel," together with the successively promulgated statutes or precepts, constitute the Mosaic law.

This law according to the learned Rabbis contained altogether 365 positive and 248 negative obligations and is found principally in the second and third books of the Pentateuch and for about fifteen centuries remained, and with the exception of a strictly national part, still is the code of the Hebrews. This was the first code of laws, so far as we are informed, of a general nature, laid down for the government of a nation of people that sought their good by instructing them in what was morally right, and to refrain from doing what was morally wrong.

Its aims were the moral perfection of mankind and the welfare of society. Its immediate objects were the eradication of heathen rites and ceremonies and the establishment of a code that would supplant the barbaric customs and laws of the Egyptians and other nations.

The learned Rabbi, Hillel, in his words to a heathen, who sought to be instructed in Judaism in a few moments defined the law, thus :

"Do not to others what you would not have others do to you, is the essence ; every thing else is but comment."

The following extract must suffice for an example of the general character of the law : Lev. 19, "Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father and keep my Sabbath. * * * Turn ye not unto idols, nor make yourselves molten gods. * * * And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard ; * * thou shalt leave them for the poor and the stranger ; * * * * Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another. And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God : * * * Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbor, neither rob him ; the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning. Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling block before the blind, but thou shalt fear thy God ; * * Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment ; thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty, but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor. Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale bearer among the people ; neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor. * * Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart : thou shalt not in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him. Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself ; * * Ye shall keep my statutes. * * Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed, neither shall a garment mingled with linen and woollen come upon thee. * * Ye shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary :

I am the Lord. Regard not them that have familiar spirits; neither seek after wizards to be defiled by them: * * * Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man, and fear thy God: * * And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt; * * Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in mete, yard, in weight or in measure. Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin, shall ye have; I am the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt. Therefore shall ye observe all my statutes, and all my judgments and do them; I am the Lord."

The government established was republican in form, with a moral dictatorship of a prophet, like the law-giver; with the sovereignty of the people who held the power to judge of the merits and claims of the prophet, and above all, the majesty of the divine law, which could be explained and expounded by the wise men and rulers, but not altered by them.

The whole governmental system proved to be entirely practical, and considering the previous condition of the people to be governed, was preëminently wise and calculated to secure their happiness and prosperity.

Although the Hebrews were, at the time the law was given to them, a nomadic people, and possessed no fixed habitations, they were by no means few in number. The first census showed over 600,000 males able to bear arms and the whole number not less than 2,400,000 souls. They were in a country where provisions were scarce, water scanty, and dangers from the inhabitants were great.

When we remember that they were an unruly mass of slaves, just liberated from a national bondage of over four centuries, together with a multitude of non-Israelites, of semi-barbaric races, who joined them, we can have some feeble conception of the difficulties in establishing a wise law for their government.

Moses occupied the character of an ambassador from Heaven, in imparting legislation to a chosen people of God, yet I am not willing to concede that his law was made without reference to

the peculiar natural and political situation, the ideas and prejudices, the manners and customs, and unsettled condition of the Hebrew tribes. Nor am I willing to conclude that the law was written by the law-giver without reference to other wise laws and customs of other then existing nations.

It is furthermore to be observed that the laws of Moses confirm, amend or annul a more ancient and recognized law of custom, founded on established usage, of which his statutes presupposes the existence. For example, he never expressly authorizes divorce, but alludes to it as already authorized, in prohibiting, after the separation of husband and wife, the husband from receiving his wife again, if she had married another man. The recognized authority of this law of customs, accounts for the many chasms in the Mosaic laws, where nothing is enjoined, the established usages being sufficient.

To better understand the foundations and reasons of many of the laws of Moses, we must direct our view to a more ancient law of customs, of acknowledged authority.

While compared with the books of Moses, we have but little of sufficient antiquity to enable us to precisely discover that law of customs, yet there is much internal evidence in the Mosaic law itself to point us to it. We have also, perhaps of the same period, if indeed it be not older, the book of Job, in which traces are found of the existence of an ancient consuetudinary law, on which some, at least, of the laws of Moses seem to have been engrafted.

In the brief history Moses has given us of earlier times we find laws exactly like those of his own. For example: he enjoins, that a man shall marry the widow of his brother, if he die without children; but that this was held a duty, a century and a half before his birth, we learn from the history of Judah and Tamar. Gen. 38.

The law of custom, as it appears in some of the Mosaic statutes, is a remnant of the nomadic and pastoral state of the early ancestors of the Israelites, such as were Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. This law was suited to the state of free, wandering herdsmen. And hence the reason why it receives so much light from the present manners and customs of the wandering Arabs; de-

scendants of Abraham. The preservation, by the Hebrews, through their centuries of bondage, of this traditionary law of custom, is a striking illustration of their pertinacious adherence to the teachings of their ancestors.

Independent of the ancient law of customs, we find in the writings of Moses evidences of the most judicious policy and legislative wisdom, manifestly formed on the results of long experience.

Admitting Moses' divine mission, we may yet be warranted in the conjecture, that there was borrowed from other nations much of good found in their organic laws.

If, as a prophet, he might convert the ancient usages of the wandering Israelites into laws, he would not, therefore, cease to be a prophet, because he introduced into his written laws the wisest policy of the most flourishing people then or ever before on the earth.

When we carefully consider what in Moses' system was new and unknown to their Hebrew ancestors, and more especially what displays the most marked proofs of a refined legislative wisdom, we are compelled to ascribe it in a measure to his Egyptian experience and education; as for example: 1. The foundation of the government on a system of agriculture; which was quite unknown to the wandering herdsmen: 2. The formation of a powerful state independently of foreign commerce; which the Egyptians abhorred: 3. The measures resorted to for keeping the Israelites distinct from other nations, &c., &c.

What is more natural, then, than that Moses should have availed himself of what was good in the laws of a people among whom the Israelites had hitherto lived, and in whose learning and arts he had himself been educated? It is impossible to survey even the smallest remnants of Egyptian history yet extant, or the mighty and imperishable monuments of the power of her kings, and of a country established on the arts of peace, without feeling a high veneration for the Pharaohs and their ministers. These rulers, philosophers and men of science, will rise still higher in our esteem when we consider that they lived at a period when the people of other nations were barbarians.

Moses, on account of their hardness of heart, allowed many

things to the Hebrews which he could hardly have approved, or could only have considered as expedient in a political view. Necessity must have, on civil grounds, led him to recognize the authority of those most ancient usages and laws which he found already in force. For laws run the risk of being disrespected and disobeyed, when they oppose deep rooted customs, and would deprive the people of long established and favorite rights. A legislator who attempts to introduce a system of morality too strict for his subjects, may, by aiming at too much, gain nothing; and only pave the way for more extensive transgressions of the laws; and what they have successfully tried as to one, they may soon put in practice as to others.

Christ, in response to the Pharisees concerning the law of divorce, says to them: "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so." To the same class, belong slavery, polygamy, the marriage of a childless brother's widow, and the right of the blood-avenger to attack and kill with impunity, in any other than a sacred place, the person who had slain one of his relations. This latter right could not be reckoned among the laudable institutions of a government. It was, however, a right connected with an imaginary sense of honor, which Moses could not at once eradicate from the minds of the people. This right was akin to the fatal practice of dueling, which, to this day, legislators have failed to wholly eradicate, because it had its foundation in an imaginary point of honor.

The rights of a blood-avenger, in all their extent, were not more pernicious than the custom of dueling. Moreover, a careful study of the law on this subject, will show that Moses contrived to prevent the direful effects, by establishing cities of refuge to which the slayer might flee and there be protected, without opposing his people's notions of the point of honor.

While strenuously insisting that the Mosaic laws were the best the Israelites could bear, I do not hold that they are absolutely and universally the best, and to be imitated by every civilized nation. I cannot believe that people, in the establishment of a government, are bound to follow the example of Moses, in allowing polygamy and divorce, and in tolerating slavery.

By some it may be said: How will you meet the difficulty, that as they were the laws of God, they must be the most holy, and consonant to morality, and consequently the best? The answer, to my mind, is easy and complete: They were not absolutely the best, but only the very best that could then be adopted and enforced, suited to the then peculiar circumstances and condition of the people to whom they were given: not the best for governments formed in the light of the Christian religion, but for a then Israelitish republic.

Moses was often obliged to abide by former usage, though not the best, because the alteration of laws is dangerous.

Any alteration of a law, long established, and although only tolerably good, is confessedly dangerous, and can rarely be exchanged for a new one, really better in itself, without serious inconvenience. For laws are properly nothing else than public restraints, or forbearance of the people one with another; and their credit rests entirely on their stability and equality.

The severity and leniency of the laws of Moses were necessarily regulated by the circumstances and tendencies of the Israelites. Laws wisely differ in every distinct nation, in consequence of the necessity of adapting them to the status of the people to whom given.

The severity of a law is, or should be made in proportion to the prevalence of the particular crime. For example: horse stealing was once so common in the state of Connecticut that it became necessary to make it punishable by death. This will furnish the reason for establishing many of the severer punishments of the Mosaic laws.

Let us illustrate.

1. *Climate.* In a warm climate drunkenness is far more to be dreaded than in a cold one, and therefore, to restrain it, severer punishments are provided. The law of Moses condemns to death a son addicted to drunkenness, who is disobedient to his parents, and cannot be restrained by them. Moses prohibited the kindling of a fire on the Sabbath day, which would do very well for a people in Palestine, but it would hardly be supposed that such a prohibition would have been put in a code of laws

by Moses himself, if it had been for the government of a people in Norway or Alaska.

2. *The fertility of the soil.* The Israelites had to give *three-tenths* of their produce to the public service ; one to the Levites, another to the sacrificial feasts, and a third, in later times, to the king. This they could then endure in Palestine where the returns were more than thirty fold ; but in other places it would have been more than the rent of the land.

3. *The situation of the country.* But for this, agriculture and indeed industry in general, might have slept under a system of laws, which gave so little encouragement to commerce. Palestine was in the highest degree convenient for commerce, and although the inhabitants themselves were, by the law, prohibited from carrying it on, they still had plenty of purchasers for their produce. The people of Sidon and Tyre applied to them for corn and wine, and the caravans of merchantmen from Asia and Africa, took their other products off their hands.

Because traders had been for many centuries regarded as but marauders and thieves, in search of slaves and particularly the virgins of other nationalities than their own, whom they often decoyed away or stole when they could not barter for them of their parents, Moses forbid the Israelites from engaging in such pursuits ; not for the reason assigned by many that he was opposed to intercourse and commerce.

A state founded on agriculture alone would have proved very weak and inactive, if there had been no commercial mart in its vicinity.

The rulers of Israel were, by a law of the state, interdicted from maintaining a strong cavalry force. This was a wise law in Palestine, on account of its being a mountainous country, and for its defense, cavalry could not have been dispensed with altogether, as in Switzerland. But if this had been made a law for the Prussian states, they would have been left at the mercy of an enemy.

4. *The power and political relations of neighboring states.* Any attempt to institute foreign trade among the Israelites in the time of Joshua and for centuries thereafter, would have been

unwise and inauspicious, as they were in the immediate vicinity of the then greatest maritime power of the Sidonians, and later the Tyrians with whom they could not soon hope to compete. Hence all maritime commerce was by statute inhibited.

The Israelites had predatory nations as neighbors, with whom they could never conclude a settled peace; and as one means of preventing the increase of population of such nations, and to increase their own, by their laws, captive young women were carried into slavery.

Under such circumstances, polygamy was allowed; for whoever wanted a plurality of wives might purchase captive girls, without producing the necessity for the corresponding evil of polyandry, for want of the supply of marriageable women to meet the demand.

5. *The mode of life.* A commercial nation could not subsist under a law prohibiting the interest of money, as did the law of Moses; but to a nation of husbandmen, such a law was perhaps a wise one.

6. *The fundamental principle of the state.* No state could adopt the agricultural law of Moses, that prohibited the sale of land in perpetuity, unless it was founded on the principles, which set out with the conquest of a great and rich country, the extirpation of the former inhabitants and the equal partition of the land among the people. It would obviously be a great hardship on those destitute of a settlement, if, at the giving of the law, every one was not put into possession of a piece of ground of sufficient extent.

7. *Point of honor and disgrace.* Among the Hebrews and Arabians, the man rendered himself forever disgraced, who left the blood of a relative unavenged; hence the law of the blood-avenger was demanded by the people.

The law which enjoins the raising up children to a deceased childless brother, was partly grounded upon an idea of honor, which we, fortunately or unfortunately, have not. To die without issue was then considered the deepest disgrace; and greatness was predicted and blessings promised to consist of a numerous "seed."

Among the jealous Orientals, the law punished adultery with

death, to avoid the greater evil of the injured husband becoming his own avenger. Every offense should be regarded by the law-giver in the same light that the great majority of those whom it affects are likely to regard it.

8. *The severity and nature of punishment.* To punish with imprisonment those, who, like the Israelites, inclined to sedentary life, is sheer folly, unless the place of confinement be extremely disagreeable or unwholesome. Hence the Mosaic law never punished by imprisonment.

By the people of this country, ever restless and impatient of restraint, imprisonment in the mildest form is regarded as severe punishment.

If an Israelite married his paternal uncle's widow, the children of such marriage were not regarded as his. This was a most sanguinary punishment, because, in that day, the number of an Israelite's family was the measure of his greatness and importance.

9. *Difference of custom.* Burning after death was regarded a terrible punishment, which it could not have been had cremation been common among the Israelites.

10. *Peculiar prevailing diseases.* Leprosy and prevalent contagious diseases required sanitary laws among the Israelites, which with us would be useless; hence the necessity for severe laws on the subject of cleanliness and the use of wholesome food.

Moses nowhere threatens future punishment in another life; and this to some has appeared very strange, considering that other ancient legislators have availed themselves of the terrors which these inspire. Although much criticism has been passed upon the law, for want of such reference to future punishments, it is now conceded to be the highest evidence of his legislative wisdom.

Moses, however, distinguished himself from all other legislators by threatening the whole nation if, as a nation, the people wickedly transgressed his laws, with punishment in this life which no human power could execute, but divine providence alone could inflict upon a people. The 36th chap. Lev. and the 28th and 29th chaps. Deut. are full of such threatenings.

While the Mosaic law was framed in reference to the circumstances, conditions, &c., of the Hebrews, and was not unalterable, there were certain fundamental principles in Mosaic legislation, that had for their foundation the establishment of institutions, which were to continue permanently in force, without regard to the changed condition of the people or their form of civil government.

The first of the two main fundamental principles was the maintenance of the worship of one God, and the proscription of polytheism.

Among all the nations with whom the Israelites had intercourse, polytheism, or the worship of many gods (idols) then prevailed.

Of course it was highly contagious at that day, as people were then regarded favored and great in proportion to the number of gods they worshiped. Moses permitted no relaxation in his laws against idolatry.

It will be remembered that Moses was still on Mount Sinai when the people rebelled, and compelled his brother Aaron to give them, in a golden calf, (an imitation of the Egyptian Apis) a visible god.

Moses, descending, broke the two tablets of the covenant in his anger, and restored order by a massacre of the idolatrous rioters, but almost despaired of his mission and desired to die. He removed his tent from the camp until all difficulties were conquered. He consoled himself with the idea that a generation educated under his guidance and laws would replace that of the desert.

The second fundamental principle, was the prevention of intercourse between the Israelites and foreign nations.

It was always the chief object of state polity to render the natural born Israelites happy and powerful and formidable by their increasing numbers.

The regulations laid down by Moses had little tendency to draw strangers to the land, and they were admirably calculated to prevent any Israelite from settling in a foreign country. Every Israelite had his hereditary land, which he could not sell in perpetuity, and which by ceasing to be an Israelitish citizen, he

absolutely forfeited. Besides their whole plan of life was so regulated, that they could not have much intercourse with other nations; and many of their customs, which were converted into laws, (those for example relating to clean and unclean meats) were so contrary to the customs of foreign nations as to prevent any close relations with them.

Moses was likewise careful to guard against the danger of ever becoming dependent on a foreign nation. He expressly interdicted the people from ever selecting a foreigner to be their ruler.

The insulation of the people had, moreover, a close relation to the first great object of the Mosaic economy, which was to maintain the worship of one God. Amidst the almost universal prevalence of idolatry, it would have been impossible to secure the Israelites from so infectious a madness, if they had not been restrained from foreign intercourse.

That the multiplication of the Israelites by natural fruitfulness, was one great object of the Mosaic institution, is acknowledged by almost all who have, with any attention, considered their laws.

All posthumous fame consisted in having their names preserved in genealogical tables by means of children; and to die without children, was considered dishonorable, and such persons, names were required to be erased from the genealogical tables. The divine promises recorded by Moses, in a great measure, related to a numerous posterity; so that the Israelites must have looked on this as a mark of God's regard, whereas sterility was deemed a curse. Whoever married was, for the year at least, exempted from military service and other burdens; which must necessarily have promoted marriages, particularly in time of war, when otherwise they are apt to decrease.

The great German commentator, Michaelis, has written an "*Inquiry into the reasons why Moses takes no notice of child murder in his laws,*" which I have not had the good fortune to see, but conclude that the chief reason given is the fact that, by the Hebrews, children were considered as wealth, the main part of their parents' inheritance, and as a mark of their importance; and, as a consequence, infanticide was unknown as a crime to

be guarded against. (Rape was not a crime under Mosaic law.) Infanticide and rape may have been unknown crimes.

Agriculture was the foundation of the whole Mosaic polity.

It was on agriculture alone, taken in its most extensive sense, so as to include the culture of vineyards, olive grounds and gardens, that Moses thought fit to lay the foundation of the Israelitish polity. Every Israelite was to receive a certain extent of land, of which the full property was to be vested in himself, although he could not sell it; so that it descended to his posterity forever.

By this means, there could be no Israelite who did not inherit a tract of land from his progenitors. It was probably from the Egyptians that Moses borrowed this principle on which his polity was thus founded.

All the Hebrew husbandmen were put on an equal footing. There was neither peasantry nor nobility. The Levites may be regarded, by some, as forming an exception, as they were by birth permitted to enjoy certain privileges, to devote themselves to learning, and thereby to become qualified for priests and public functionaries. These privileges were not, however, connected with the idea of nobility. This equality of all the citizens, could not but give the state a democratic tendency; hence we need not wonder that on such a foundation, Moses should have established a democracy, and not a monarchy.

Moses did not authorize, by his law, the Israelites to choose a king; it was neither his advice nor his wish that they should ever do so; and when they did, it was only suffered, not approved.

Of the form of the republic. The form of the government was democratic. Moses, at making known any laws, convened the whole congregation of Israel, in their representative capacity. Through these representatives his laws were made known to the people. By an ancient custom, before Moses' time, every tribe had a chief. The tribes were subdivided into certain greater and lesser families, which had for their heads, "fathers;" over these were still what were called "*heads of houses of fathers*," probably the same persons who were called elders in Joshua's

time. Num 1 : 2 ; Josh. 7 : 14-23 ; 26 ; Deut. 19 : 12, and 21 : 1-9.

Judges. Ex. 18 : 25. Moses himself was at first sole judge ; he afterwards appointed judges over tens, over hundreds and over thousands, and commanded them to judge righteously and not be respecters of persons. Deut. 1 : 16, 17.

He always held the right of final judgment. When in Palestine, there were judges over every city, selected chiefly from the Levites. Moses established in the wilderness the Sanhedrim of seventy, only as a temporary institution, in order to alleviate the weight of the burden that oppressed him, at a time when rebellion arose among the people.

They were chosen from the tribes collectively, not as judges with high powers, for of judges, they had at that time between sixty and seventy thousand, (Michaelis Vol. I, 247) but a council or senate of persons to advise and assist Moses, and share in the government. It is commonly supposed that this Sanhedrim continued permanent. This can hardly be true, for from the death of Moses to the Babylonish captivity, not the least mention is made of it in the Bible. It was instituted by Moses for his personal service and security ; and as he did not fill up the vacancies in it by death, it must have died out in the wilderness. "All the people that came out of Egypt, that were males * * died in the wilderness." Excepting of course Joshua and Caleb. Josh. 5 : 4.

After the return of the Jews from Babylonish captivity, they again instituted a Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, of which frequent mention is made in Jewish writings and in the New Testament. This was a mere imitation of the Mosaic Synedrim or Sanhedrim.

Scribes. There were, by express ordination of Moses, Deut. 16 : 18, in every city, appointed, not only judges, but *Scribes*, or *Schotirim*.

Moses did not originally institute these offices, but found them among the people while in Egypt. Their duty was to keep accounts, collect debts, and they must have been the officers who kept the genealogical tables, a faithful record of births, marriages and deaths ; and moreover, had the duty of apportion-

ing the public burdens and services on the people individually. They were, after the exodus from Egypt, generally taken from the tribe of Levi, 1 Chron. 23 : 4; 19 : 8-11; 34 : 13, because they devoted themselves to study; and, among husbandmen, few were then likely to be expert in writing. In time of war they communicated to the people general orders, Josh. 1 : 10, &c., and often performed many other duties.

Jewish Kings. Moses, as has already been said, was desirous that the nation of Israel should preserve the constitution of a free republic, but still, by a particular law, Deut. 17 : 14-20, he suffered it to choose a king, when a monarchical government was found better suited to their circumstances and preservation.

1. Moses in the first place presupposed, Deut. 17 : 14, what actually happened in process of time, that, in imitation of the neighboring nations, the Israelites would conceive the desire of having a king; and herein he shows his thorough knowledge of the mutability of human affairs, and how well he understood the temper of the orientals, whose propensity to kingly government has been marked by the Greeks, Romans, and other nations in later times.

2. Moses left to the people the right of choice of a king but with the limitation that they must never elect a foreigner. Deut. 17 : 15.

(Our constitution, in providing that no foreigner by birth shall be eligible to the offices of President and Vice-president, may be regarded, to that extent, as analogous to this law).

3. The Israelites were on no account to appoint any one their king who was not chosen of God. Deut. 17 : 15.

4. Moses prohibited the King of Israel from ever carrying the people back into Egypt, that is from ever making a conquest of the land of Goshen. Deut. 17 : 16.

5. The king was not to collect great quantities of gold and silver. Deut. 17. This was prohibited from a regard to the liberties of the people, and that the king might not have in his hands the means of becoming a despot; and to preserve the people from the burden of heavy taxation.

Of slavery. It must be recollected, that at the period when

the law of Moses was promulgated, the system of human slavery had existed for ages.

It had grown up in all nations and flourished in its full vigor ; it overspread the fairest parts of the globe, and was too deeply rooted to be at once eradicated. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had had slaves ; and the Canaanites, Arabians and Egyptians had them, also.

The law of Moses is yet often cited as justifying slavery, and its twin relic of barbarism, polygamy. (A pious plea, for a great evil, will always be popular). Those who still adhere to this opinion and attempt to so justify slavery, are either stupidly ignorant of the Mosaic law, or vicious in their purposes, in spite of their knowledge.

Although Moses did not entirely abolish slavery, he broke asunder some of its most tremendous and galling shackles, and so limited, and ameliorated it, that it little merited that odious name.

The law did not recognize hereditary slavery.

There were only two extreme cases in which the Hebrews could be reduced to a state of bondage. First : When an individual, guilty of theft, could not make the restitution which the law adjudged, in which case, he might be sold by the proper authorities. Second : When an individual was reduced to such extreme indigence, as to prefer slavery to a state of starvation, he might dispose of his own person. In both these cases, the period and nature of the service were limited. Ex. 21 : 5, 6 ; Deut. 15 : 12-16. The master dare not employ him in any very laborious or degrading work ; was obliged to maintain his wife and children, though not entitled to the products of their labor.

The Hebrew slave could acquire and dispose of property. The heathen slave was not so well off : he could not acquire property, and whatever he possessed belonged to his master.

But even over him, the law spread its protecting shield ; for though it suspended his civil, it protected his moral and personal rights. It furnished him many opportunities by which he could gain his freedom, as for example, the heathen slave might, before he had performed an act of servitude to the purchaser,

become a proselyte to Hebrewism, and thus acquire his freedom at once; the purchaser being only entitled, in that event, to the repayment by him of the purchase money; it secured his life by making the killing of a slave, even by immoderate connection, a capital offence. It protected him against cruelty, by obliging his master to give him his freedom in case he wantonly injured any of his limbs, or even knocked out a tooth; and it sheltered him from insults, and insured him good treatment by its divine precepts, which were so well calculated to inspire benign mildness and benevolence.

The savage cruelty and barbarity, which have been common under modern, professed civilized and Christian nations, exercised toward slaves, could never have existed under Hebrew laws, and with Hebrew people, who were strictly enjoined to extend kindness even to brutes, much more to human beings.

Their laws provided against perpetual bondage, by giving all persons their liberty at each succeeding jubilee; and the Hebrew slave was made free at the end of seven years. Lev. 25th chap. The Hebrews even bore in mind the words of Job: "That the same maker that formed the master, formed the slave, and that they were both fashioned in the same mold."

Polygamy. Polygamy was tolerated by Moses; but a careful scrutiny of the whole law, the customs, habits, and the then condition and situation of the Israelites so lately before the making of the law in degrading bondage, enables us to discover strong reasons also for justifying its toleration, and, at least, for not then attempting, in the face of the will of the people, to at once strike at its root. Abraham and Jacob practiced polygamy. This evil, like slavery, could not at once be eradicated, because it was a graft of a common custom, of long standing, and as is expressed, in relation to divorce, in the New Testament, "because of the hardness of the people's hearts," it was tolerated. Polygamy disappeared immediately after the Babylonish captivity.

I am constrained to pass over the consideration of the many Hebrew feasts, and the wise purposes for which they were instituted, also the many precepts and private laws which it would be profitable to consider in detail, did space permit.

I cannot, however, here neglect to briefly mention the Jubilee. Every fiftieth year the Jubilee was celebrated. Lev. 25 : 8, 9, 10.

Its return was announced on the tenth day of the seventh month, (Tisri, September) : and it was proclaimed by the sounding of the trumpets throughout the land.

The first nine days of the seventh month of the year of Jubilee, the servants feasted and made merry, and wore garlands in token of their approaching liberty.

The main temporal uses of this feast were :

1. For the general release of servants or slaves, the proclamation of "liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." Lev. 25 : 10.

2. For the restoring of lands and tenements to their first owners, who had sold them.

3. A preservation of a true distinction of their tribes ; because lands returned unto their owners in the proper tribes, and servants to their own families.

4. The computation of time. As the Grecians computed their time by the number of Olympiads ; the Romans by the Lustra ; so the Jews by their Jubilees.

There were many other reasons founded in profound wisdom, for the establishment of this jubilee year. The years of jubilee, pertaining, as they did, peculiarly to the Hebrew nation, perhaps more than all things else, tended to bind together that wonderful people.

If there are any of the laws of Moses, the reasons for the establishment of which are unknown to us, we must not conclude that none existed at the time.

The precepts of the law were, as so many remedies for political, governmental and moral diseases, which then existed, the political pathological knowledge of which may not, in all cases, have been discovered by us.

Let no one condemn a single precept of the law of Moses, without having first ascertained the true reason for its institution.

ARTICLE V.

GEORGE CONRAD RIEGER.

From the German by REV. H. C. STUCKENBERG, Bryan, O.

In the year 1687 God gave to the fatherland a witness unto the truth who indeed was not prominent as a scripturist and theologian, but only an ordinary preacher, nevertheless through his word accomplished a good work among his contemporaries which is unforgotten even unto our own day. This same was the strong and national spirited George Conrad Rieger. He was a native of Connstatt; his father a plain vintner was a member of the town council and as his son testifies an "honorable man;" his mother was a devout woman in whom dwelt a sincere faith and simple mind toward Christ and who dedicated her son to the Lord in his childhood and nurtured him in his fear and love. In the talented boy there was soon manifested a desire to study theology; his mother readily consented, but the father was not willing, perhaps because he thought there was a feeling of pride that prompted the desire, or it may be that he hesitated because of the expense. The boy however, would give him no peace, and one day—so it is related—as they were both in the field trimming trees Conrad again pressed his request and his father declared somewhat impatiently: "Now God shall decide. I will throw this pruning knife up into the tree, if it remains in the tree, then you shall go in God's name and study and rise above your station; but if it falls nothing will come of it and you remain where you are in a humble station." The father threw the knife, it remained in the tree, and the way to the study of theology was opened for the boy.

He had received a good preparation for this in the instruction of the preceptor Hofszasz, who not only instructed him in the ancient languages, but particularly in the reading of the Bible, committing to memory passages of scripture, making extracts of sermons, and in the searching of passages cited in the catechetical class. Thus the boy obtained such a knowledge of the

Bible that afterwards in the cloister school he was looked upon as a prodigy by his older companions, and later in the ministry he had great use for this knowledge. He had many difficulties to encounter before entering the cloister school at Blaubeuren. He finally accomplished his object with the help of the dean of Connstatt, John Wendell Belfinger, who most cheerfully interested himself in behalf of the boy. When he advanced from Blaubeuren to the cloister school at Maulbronn he came under the instruction of preceptor Haselmaier, whose influence was of decisive significance to the inner life of young Rieger. "From him," he says, "I received, both in the public lectures and in private, the first seeds of a right life, which is in Christ, and through Christ must be in us." "From Maulbronn," continues Rieger, "from the hands of my spiritual father the prelate Andrew Hochstetter and the two preceptors Christopher F. Weissman and Christian Hochstetter, excellent men, at that time located at Babenhaus received me in a cordial manner, whose epistle I am both now and at the day of Jesus Christ. Besides thoroughly inspiring to the study of language and philosophy, they took pains, by daily public admonitions and by appointed hours of private devotion, to discipline our hearts by the word of God, and to guard us against the many and dangerous pleasures of the age and to prepare us for the service of God; for which may the Lord make me and all their students their crown and joy." In Tuebingen Rieger enjoyed peculiar advantages under Andrew Hochstetter, professor of Theology. This learned and devout man had the peculiar gift, as Bengel says, to recognize every attempt of young people, whose object was the accomplishment of good, at its true value, even if weak and immature, and to assist in the same by loving counsel, and indeed, sometimes gave to the affair such a turn as if the further execution of the work were a special favor to himself." In him the young Rieger had a faithful, experienced leader and counsellor during his preparation for the ministerial office, in which Hochstetter himself, by catechetical drill of the youth, labored with special gifts and blessing.

After Rieger had completed his studies he was received into the home of Harpprecht, Professor of Jurisprudence at Tuebin-

gen, to conduct the education of his two sons. On this account he was exempt from the customary vicarship, and was employed only for a short time afterwards as vicar in Lustnau and Herenberg. At the last named place God blessed his labors, especially among the separatists. In 1713 he became tutor at Tuebingen, and two years later vicar of Stuttgart. From the first years of his student life his teachers had designated him for a preceptorate; he however discovered a constant opposition thereto in his disposition, and desired rather to serve God as a preacher. He was however appointed preceptor in the cloister Babenhaus; but before he entered upon the office God so ordered, through others, that the diaconate of Urach was conferred upon him. (a. 1718.)

He took hold of the work with much zeal and sought, with untiring energy, to be of service to the youth, in that, besides the public instruction of the children and the regular school hours, he conducted private catechisation, following the example of Spener. He also took pains to supply the people with bibles, hymn books and other religious books and to be a pastor to both sick and well, and to promote growth." In his farewell discourse which he delivered in 1721, after three years labor, he said: "But few sermons may be selected in which I have not set forth the entire process of conversion from the natural state under the law unto grace and obedience. I always and every where first set forth the law to show to man his condition, to reveal to him his extremely corrupt heart, and urge him to seek salvation. This I then showed him to be in Jesus Christ to whom the law leads man by the hand. To commend this Christ to the needy souls and to unfold and spread abroad the treasures of grace in him for the joy of the faithful was really my food and nourishment. How often have I opened my mouth and testified that Christianity is no burden, but the most blessed, most peaceful, most joyous and delightful condition." Concerning his catechisation he says in this sermon: "It may have been noticed in my actions and words how my heart leaped for joy when I could teach you the catechism. Here also did I receive the greatest refreshing in ministry." That old and young in the congregation were deeply attached to him is reasonable, and many tears flowed when he left Urach.

His field of labor was now in Stuttgart where he received a professorship in the gymnasium. At the same time he was appointed as preacher for the mid-week services at the college church. In this capacity he had no pastoral work that required his attention, but had to conduct regular weekly services. For the latter the consistory laid upon him the task of expounding the Gospel of Matthew. This work became so dear to him, that afterwards when he advanced to other positions in Stuttgart, he continued the same at the customary week day services and altogether preached about one thousand sermons upon the Gospel of Matthew. He advanced no farther than to the end of the nineteenth chapter, for the reason that he took occasion for the most significant consideration of each verse, indeed of each word. The church was as a general thing full of hearers and many of them were awakened by Rieger's weighty evidence, many truly converted, others greatly strengthened in the Christian race.

For twelve years Rieger labored in this position as professor and mid-week preacher. Then in 1733 he received a commission to an important ministerial office in Frankfurt on the Main. He declined the call inasmuch as he was not anxious for ease, honor or power, and accepted instead a call to the then laborious position of rector of St. Leonard's in Stuttgart. He did not do this without fear, yet with a confident spirit. In his introductory sermon he expressed himself as follows: "I come to you according to God's beckoning and will. I take great pleasure in assuring every one whom it may interest, that God's gracious will and counsel have been indicated to me, both inwardly and externally, according to the measure in which it may be expected in these days. Now, then, that the Lord and his Spirit send me, why should I not hope that he has decreed that my services among you shall be blest? I come to you according to your own good pleasure. I know of no one upon whom I was urged; but I do know some who longed for me, who prayed for me, and who have met me with their love. I believe that through your prayers I was given to you. Why then should I not be full of hope, that God will hear your prayer and give success to my preaching among you? I come to you with a

pure purpose. Do you, by yourselves, compare my former and my present duties; my former rest, my present unrest; my easy labors there, my present cumbersome cares; my free conscience there and the terrible responsibilities of my soul for so many hundreds and thousands among you; my support there and here, and the decision will readily be given that I come to you not seeking self. Because I do not seek my own but that which is Christ's; not your fleece, but your souls; so I trust and believe I shall find them, that I shall at least find some; and how much I have found if I have found but one.!"

After nine years labors at St. Leonhard's church Rieger was promoted (1742) to the deanery of the Hospital Church. But in a few months the once strong and healthy man began to decline in health, appetite failed, his strength gradually left him, and symptoms of returning rheumatism showed themselves. In spite of this he continued to labor indefatigably till the body refused its services. On the 22d of March, 1743, as he was returning home from one of his duties, he was scarcely able to reach the house on account of the shortness of his breath, and was obliged to sit down upon the lower step to catch his breath. This was the last time he went out. From that time the disease increased day by day. He felt that his end was nigh, and would hear nothing of recovery. On the Tuesday preceding Easter he grew so much worse that he apprehended he would not live through the next day. Therefore he desired the Holy Communion from his confessor, Archdeacon Stockmaier. He made a most affecting confession of his sins, lamented his unfaithful and fickle heart, acknowledged with many tears his nothingness, and how everything that he had done, even his best righteousness was defiled and incomplete, sought so much the more to be clothed with the righteousness of his Saviour, to obtain reconciliation with God through his blood and to be assured of pardon through the word of absolution. He received the Holy Communion with real fervor of spirit in the most affecting manner, and with tears in his eyes said: "Now what more shall I desire? A flood of grace overwhelms me." Again he talked and taught almost the entire afternoon till night, prayed humbly and in a childlike manner with some of God's children, exhorted

them to steadfastness, and a strong bond of union in love. He lamented the lack of true fellowship among the members at Stuttgart and prayed that the Lord would always preserve a seed unto himself in the place. As in their prayers they recalled the faithfulness of his services, he said: "Lord it is not I, this is too good for me and much rather a mirror of what I ought to have been; may the Lord raise up one after me, who may be so.

A short time afterwards he said to some of his friends standing by his bed: "Now I die and God be with you. I seal the Gospel which I have preached with my death, and I have no word of regret." In the afternoon he bade his assembled friends to pray and said to them: "Support me entirely by your love and might, till all is over. I am like a potsherd. I do not know how long I shall live yet; remain with me turn about and be witnesses of my faith to the end." Then he requested them to sing in response to the angels who were to bear him away. "There are two hosts," he said, "as there were with Jacob; you are the one; deliver me over to the other host with song and prayer, namely to the holy angels,"

When a few maids, whom he had prepared for confirmation, came to him to thank him for his instruction, he said: "That which I have taught you is of great value to me now; hold it fast and so act that you may at last be a star in my crown and thus adorn it. Thereunto I give you my blessing."

On Maunday Thursday, among other things he said to his wife whom he saw weeping: "Should not the servant go willingly when his master bids him? This is only reasonable." Afterwards he got to talking about Bengel and said: "We should esteem this man and his work very highly." Particularly refreshing to him was a word spoken by the prelate Oechslin on his death bed. (a. 1737). As Rieger, who was his confessor, was comforting him the dying man said to him: "Now, Lord Prelate, you know whom you have believed and whom you have trusted, namely Jesus your eternal Redeemer, him whom you have preached to others, and commended so lovingly to souls, to whom you have pointed many dying, the same you now have

for your Saviour! Oechslin answered with much assurance; "O yes, I have in him a concentrated Saviour; I have in the Redeemer all that pertains to redemption." This joyous testimony of faith on the part of the penitent was a source of great strength to the dying confessor. He also had a concentrated Redeemer, and what he said gave testimony thereto or served to glorify Jesus. On Easter he said to his wife: "Dear child, I die, and I might say much, cling to Christ and keep him." In the evening, his weakness increasing, he said; "It is ever the same with me, I am still the same poor sinner who has obtained grace, the poor sinner who has been saved, the poor sinner whom he has blessed. Nothing is of any consequence to me save Jesus only.

On Tuesday after Easter the end drew near. As he was already breathing his last there came another citizen of Stuttgart and acknowledged with a heart full of emotion to the dying one "how through him his soul had been saved and brought to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, which he would confess before the Lord and all the assembled angels to his honor and glory, now and in all eternity before the judgment seat of Christ." On the 16th of April 1743 at 7.30 A. M. during an earnest prayer of his confessor he died in the 56th year of his age. The monument chosen for his resting place described him in the following appropriate words:

"On Aaron's day there died an Aaron of our time, he was dedicated to the service of the Lord from his youth up. The strength of his spirit, his faith, his light, and his uprightness may still be read by all in his writings."

Of his writings best known to-day are his homilies, (*Herzpostillen*), a two years course of sermons full of edification and devotion, and his sermons on Matthew, the fruit of his labors as mid-week preacher. How richly blest Rieger's word and writings were, even beyond Stuttgart and Wurtemberg, is shown by a letter from a minister of North Germany five years after his death who thought that he was still living. It says: "That I, a distant stranger, should write to you, is for the following reasons: It happened through the providence of our Saviour that your very worthy homilies fell into my hands, and when I had scarcely read a few pages my heart was sensibly touched,

moved and cheered in a divine manner, for which glory be to our Lord Jesus Christ alone. I was so much aroused that I read them more diligently and found the treasure of concealed truth so clearly revealed in it, Christ Jesus magnified, and the way of life so convincingly and touchingly presented, that I do not trust myself to say that I have ever in my entire ministry presented the dear Saviour in such a manner as these have done in each sermon. I have also laid to the hearts of my hearers much that is taken from the sermons and observed that it touched their hearts, and some are thankful to the Lord on account of it. O that they might all be revived, the glory should be to the Lord alone, but the joy to you in heaven. My congregation is in peculiar circumstances and has hitherto caused me much anxiety. I had served the congregation about four years when there occurred a certain extraordinary awakening among the people. One Sunday evening as I was calling at a number of neighbors' houses I entered one place, where two brothers were playing cards and the father and mother were looking on with delight. I spoke to them and they gave me their cards to cast into the fire, and they sat down with me and sang hymns. At parting I promised them that if they did not know how to spend their Sunday evenings, I would return the next Sunday and pray with them. When I returned the next Sunday quite a number had collected, who joined earnestly in the service. At the close other neighbors requested me to come to their home also on the Sabbath. When I did so the rooms were crowded with people; after the address, when I knelt in prayer, one and another began to pray so earnestly that I do not remember the day when I had such grace to pray. On the Sunday following the room was too small to hold the old and young, so that I requested the parents to leave the children at home, that I would hold a special meeting for them during the week. But the children entreated the parents with tears, so that they could not but bring them. And as I tried to separate the children, taking the boys and girls alternately, they all came and took me by storm so that I could not prevent them. They came together by twenties and thirties and prayed; some resorted to secret places with the resolution that they would pray and not

cease till they had assurance of grace. Young and old came to my study also, confessed their sins and inquired for the true way. Many were so zealous that their brothers and friends could not restrain them even by beating them. The most vile sinners were awakened from their security. This flame continued all winter and a considerable part of the summer. The truly righteous continued, but many returned to a state of indifference. In a year's time such a deadness came upon them all, with but few exceptions, that not even a shadow of the former life was seen. Many are ashamed of the former awaking, some, when questioned, sigh and have nothing to say. The children have become knavish and frivolous; some are ashamed to meet me, and evade me. The few righteous ones are scoffed at by the others. Some have a secret anguish of conscience, yet keep it concealed. The most of them are so hardened that they listen to both law and gospel with equal indifference. Those who prayed kneeling now stand blaspheming. O faithful Superintendent! What shall I do? I have in reading your homilies received such confidence toward you as (1) to seek good advice, (2) since those homilies went to my heart and also the hearts of the people, I thought that perhaps your other writings might be serviceable to my people. I am truly convinced that your writings will do much for me and my congregation; therefore I beseech you in the name of Jesus Christ that you will not deny me even the most insignificant word you have published. Thou dear, pious father, thou hast offered in thy homilies, to permit thy bread to be born across the waters, so send to thy son, who is needy, a crumb from thine abundance; I promise with the help of Jesus to break and distribute it among the needy."

The candid and humble writer of this letter has long since been standing before the throne of God, as also the intended recipient of the same, and has doubtless long since tendered him the thanks which did not reach the noble servant of God here below. Without doubt many since then, who have read and become acquainted with Rieger's writings, have thanked him in eternity for the blessing they received from them. He was perhaps the most eloquent and most ardent among his contemporaries. The Lord had chosen him to go and bring forth fruit unto eternal life.

ARTICLE VI.

LUTHERAN HOME MISSIONS.

By REV. E. K. BELL, A. M., Cincinnati O.

It is a pleasing task to consider the subject of Lutheran Home Missions after the excellent report recently presented to the General Synod by the Secretary of the Board. That report indicates that the confidence which the Church has given to the Board of Home Missions has not been misplaced and that the most sanguine expectation has been more than realized. And we must not forget that many of the best results secured cannot be explained in an official report, for spiritual results cannot be represented either by statement or by figures. The cheering fact so apparent to all is that there has never been such hearty sympathy and satisfaction with the work of this Board and never has that sympathy and appreciation been more richly deserved. Not that other Boards have been less faithful, but the heart of the church is changing, enlarging, and at the same time learning that wisdom which reposes confidence in the integrity and judgment of men whose consecration and efficiency are not surpassed anywhere.

It is a pleasing task, then, to consider the subject of Lutheran Home Missions.

OUR FIELD.

First of all, let us make inquiry concerning the field of the Lutheran Church. Has our church a field peculiarly its own, or is there any place that is more specifically our field than another? To get the answer to this question we must appeal to him from whom we have received our commission. From his words we learn that the "Field is the world." Our Lord saw the tendency among his disciples to be concerned about particular classes, and particular nationalities and to put forever at rest the inquiry as to which was the best field or as to the one in which the several disciples should labor he said, the world is

the field, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations." So at the outstart we must not overlook the fact that we owe every man the Gospel, and wherever there are souls out of Christ that is our particular field in which to labor. When a church makes a specialty of caring for any particular class or nationality, to the neglect of others, it can have no rightful expectation that the blessing of God will follow it. We hear a great deal about the Lutheran field, but the Lutheran field is Christ's field and his field is the world. Hence it is that the Church which binds itself either by language or nationality to any particular class may flourish for a time, but its decline is certain and its power will pass away. If the Lutheran Church in America is to enjoy the continued favor of God by seeing its work prosper and its borders increase it must rise to that high sense of responsibility which aims to take the world for Christ. The vision must not stop until the continent is spanned from ocean to ocean and from the gulf to the Polar sea. This entire nation is the field of the Lutheran Church. Maine and Texas, Washington and Florida, with the teeming millions that lie between, constitute our field of labor. Wherever there are people who need a church, there is the place God tells us to plant a Lutheran Church.

We are all concerned about unity and distressed about "unholy divisions." Many a plan is proposed by which our Lutheran Churches and Synods may be united, but the first grand point of unity must be unity of outlook, unity of desire and above all unity of heart and action in this one thing, to save not a class, not a nationality, but a world for Christ. Any other approach to unity is doomed to failure from the outstart. When the Lutheran Churches in this country all work toward this end, which is the very heart of the command of Christ, the much talked of "unholy divisions" will soon cease. The whole land is Lutheran territory. The farming district, the country village, the inland town and the great city, are all fields for us. To neglect the country, or the city is to sin against the command, against reason, and against God. The evangelization of the cities is of the first importance, but the evangelization of the country districts is of the first importance as well. Emerson never penned truer words than when he wrote: "The city would have

died out, rotted and exploded long ago, but that it was reinforced from the country. It is only country that came to town day before yesterday that is city and court to-day." There are but six millions of souls in our cities, while the remaining sixty millions, people the hills and valleys between the great oceans. There is no distinction of persons, no distinction of place with him who said "The field is the world." This great, broad land with its increasing millions and abounding sinfulness is field for us. Our watchword must be America for Christ and his Church. Our labors must unweariedly be spent in his name, for that branch of the Church which we believe holds the truth in love, and proclaims the Gospel which Christ delivered to the first preachers of the cross. Let no man take our crown. America is our field. This land which most of all has appropriated the immortal truth which sets the heart and conscience free, which Luther gave back to the world, this land, I say, must in all its parts be field for the Lutheran Church. No other conception of our mission will satisfy me. Any dwarfed or contracted view of our field, is but a shackle to the preacher of righteousness who has felt the thrill of truth which sets the heart free and which pursues the souls for whom Christ died with no other question than that of whether they are his and in his kingdom.

OUR OPPORTUNITY.

But what is our opportunity in this great field? While it is manifestly our duty to labor and pray for the salvation of all men, still it is proper for us to ask whether there are indications that divine providence is opening up the way for enlarged usefulness and increased reward. We are forever told of what opportunities our Church has lost in past years. Doubtless many a golden opportunity has been lost, but yet not many such opportunities as we have to-day have been lost. We are told that by not occupying many of the great cities earlier we have lost ground that can never be recovered. I am sure, however, that this picture has been greatly overdrawn. There are few great cities in which *special* opportunities have been lost by us. The fact is that the special opportunity of which we have heard so much is just at hand. It never came to our Church in this

country before. We forget that the special opportunity, in the cities at least, always comes later to us than to other denominations. The Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians are English in their origin, and have command of the language and are in accord with the customs of the people. The early settler, and the immigrants of the first two centuries, up to 1820 when the General Synod was organized were chiefly composed of English speaking people. The denominations which I have mentioned were the churches of their mother tongue and of their native land. The Lutheran Church was compelled to labor for years against great odds of language and literature. We had no literature in the language of the people, we had no printing presses that made papers and books to be read by the multitudes. We were restricted, misunderstood, we often suffered under false accusation and were unable to publicly demonstrate the truth in respect to our character and mission. But the day has come when Lutheran theology and Lutheran literature are pressing to the front in this nation. The students in American colleges can no longer study theology without coming in contact with the theology of the Church of the Reformation. We are no longer compelled to be constantly on the defensive; while there are manifold forces turning to our favor which are elements of power that cannot be overestimated.

Moreover, the cities, which are the centres of influence, where the printing presses run day and night to make literature for the people, the cities, are opening up for the Lutheran Church as never before. What fruitless tears have been shed over the cities of Cincinnati and Chicago. In the former city we have had one church for nearly forty years. Having been a pastor there for five years, and given diligent study to that field, the speaker is not prepared to say that any special opportunity has been lost because the attempt was not made earlier to multiply English Lutheran churches in that city. Our opportunity is just beginning to fairly open. What we may have lost is insignificant in comparison with the splendid opportunity that is just at hand. In Chicago the magnificent work so well begun is destined to be the corner-stone of a great structure of English Lutheranism in that wonderful city. Our special opportunity will

come there by and by just as it came in Louisville and in Baltimore. I well remember fifteen years ago to have heard it said to our disparagement that although we had in Baltimore three or four churches, they did not count for very much. But what has the Church witnessed in that city in the last ten years! In all the history of church organizations has anything been more surprising than the marvelous opportunities new churches have had in that city? Those opportunities did not exist fifteen years ago. And the opportunity of Baltimore is destined to be repeated in Cincinnati, in Chicago, in St. Louis and in every great city in the land.

The Saxon is a remarkable character. "In his ancient and historic, yet present home, he has preserved a blood unmingled with that of any conqueror." He vanquished Rome long ago and sent his brave sons to conquer Britain and place that graft on the English tree which changed its products from barbarism to the noblest fruits of the civilized world. He has given much to Spain, Gaul and Scandinavia, and now to America he has turned and millions of his people are within our domain. He did not come here earliest, nor in great numbers at the first, but he came in time to furnish that "Baron Steuben to whom the chaotic continental army owed its improved discipline and its later triumphs." He came in time to give us that brave veteran Baron De Kalb over whose grave Lafayette erected a monument and Washington shed tears. He came in time to furnish Muhlenberg of blessed memory "who stripped off his ecclesiastical robes to don the uniform of a soldier and lead a regiment of his own countrymen in the field." At the call of Abraham Lincoln he supplied one hundred and seventy five thousand men in the struggle for a nation now wholly free. So that the Saxon has a birth right here, and no man dare ask why he comes still. In the latter years, millions have come over from the fatherland and no one can tell when the end will be. A few noisy demagogues among them, who harangue their fellows in beer gardens in great cities, have been the occasion of much harsh criticism, but nevertheless these people are pushing on their way to occupy the land. Out of many millions there are a few hundred An-

archists and Socialists. The thousands of happy and virtuous German homes are not taken into notice. The marvelous thrift, industry, contentment, and the beautiful type of Christian piety so abundant are apt to be passed by. There are those who trace all virtue and piety to Plymouth Rock. Present good and future blessing come because the Puritan is here. But every now and then a thoughtful and fairminded statesman does speak the fact concerning our people. In an address at the Ohio Centennial, Ex-President Hayes summoned courage to say before a Puritan audience "that sixty counties in the state of Ohio were settled chiefly by German stock, and that the industry, economy, honesty and contentment of these people, were the foundation virtues which had made Ohio so illustrious among the states." These people, the majority of them Lutherans, are still laying foundations, and settling states and building cities. They are spreading throughout the nation like the children of Israel covered the land of Goshen. The Saxon is not an adventurer, but one who seeks a home. He has a family of children. He is not only pressing his way into the great northwest where his Lutheran kinfolk the Danes and Swedes are, but he is moving toward the south and making the wilderness teem with the fruits of his toil. He is even pressing into New England, building his cottage under the shadow of Bunker Hill, and some day will carve the name of him who taught the nations what liberty is on Plymouth Rock.

These people with their love of home and love of the fatherland Church are making opportunity for us. The General Synod which presents the purest type of Lutheranism is the only American Lutheran Church that can hold the second and especially the third generation. The Americanized German wants an American church. The Lutheran Church is his first choice, but he will pass a foreign Lutheran Church and find his home in other denominations. And what I mean by a foreign church, is not simply one in which the Gospel is preached in a foreign tongue, for a church in which Christ is preached in German or Scandinavian may still be American in spirit. What I mean is that the *American Lutheran wants just such a church as the General Synod offers him.*

It is no matter of discouragement that the General Synod has not grown more rapidly. We have been in the work of foundation-laying, that of placing the English Lutheran Church on a plane of activity and aggressiveness which is not surpassed by any branch of the Christian Church in this country. In other words, we have been getting ready for the special opportunities which are now opening up around us. If there is ever to be a United Lutheran Church in this country it must be on the basis of the General Synod. Our opportunity must be found along the lines in which the fathers directed our course. It consists in a large part in presenting an American Lutheran Church for the Americanized Lutherans that are numbered by millions in this land. And do you know of any such opportunity anywhere as is afforded us here? Who can estimate the richness of the field which the Lord has invited us to enter? The harvest truly is plenteous and the reaping time is at hand. Others have been telling us for years that our English Lutheran Church has the greatest opportunity in the history of modern Home Missions. The opportunity is increasing, it is intensifying year after year, and shall it be that we at whose door that opportunity is placed are to be the last to recognize it?

A little over a year ago when that remarkable canvass was made for students to pledge themselves for foreign work, a student from one of our seminaries asked a leader in the canvass whether he would advise him as a Lutheran minister to go to the foreign field. With the true spirit of the foreign missionary he answered: "As you are a Lutheran minister I would not advise you to labor anywhere except among your own people in this country; for the Lutheran Church in America has a work that no other church can do, and an opportunity unparalleled and beyond estimation."

OUR RESOURCES.

III. But the consideration of field and opportunity calls for a consideration also of our resources. And while the question of wealth is by no means the most important, still the silver and gold are the Lord's and when he has placed material wealth in the hands of his people, he means that it shall represent power

in advancing his kingdom. The days when the church could plead poverty are past. Money has been made so rapidly during the last fifty years that our people control enormous amounts of material wealth. The Lutheran Church, instead of being poor, has abundant wealth among her people to supply all her needs. The General Synod alone has wealth to such an amount that if the tenth of income were given to the Lord's work we could build a church every day in the year and gladden the missions and missionaries by abundant support. We could liberally endow every college in the Church during the coming year, and at the same time quadruple all our contributions to the various Boards, without diminishing a tithe of income or placing a burden on any one. It ought not be said anywhere in the Lutheran Church that our people are poor. They have all the wealth that the cause of Christ needs to-day if it were consecrated to him who loaned it to his people, that its consecration might bring to them and his Church the largest blessing.

We are only playing benevolence. Our gifts are not to be mentioned in comparison with our ability. There are twenty men in the General Synod who are more than able to give year by year all that the Church asks for Home and Foreign Missions. But the sad fact is that only a few of our wealthy people seem to have any conception of the responsibility which rests upon them. May God help our pastors that those whom he has blessed with riches be not permitted to perish from lack of knowledge and may the pulpit learn to use that sweet reasonableness of persuasion which will draw our large and special gifts in behalf of that cause for which Christ died and for which his Church lives!

Again our people compare well in character with the best Christian people in the world. They are aggressive and in full sympathy with the great movements of evangelical Christianity. They are in the front rank in every struggle for reform. They are united in sympathy and effort with the best Christian workers of the age. They have no hobby, no pet movement, but are awake to every effort that is put forth in behalf of morality and religion. The least trammelled pulpit in America is the pulpit of the General Synod Lutheran Church. Our people will tolerate no heresy, no disloyalty to Christ or his Church, while on

the other hand they are in sympathy with every utterance that seeks to promote the moral and religious welfare of the nation. When Dr. Crafts, the Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, was in Cincinnati, he said to the Evangelical Alliance, "that no church responded more heartily to his appeal for co-operation in behalf of Sunday rest than the Lutherans of the General Synod. Wherever I go, these people are among the first to give me welcome, and to bid me Godspeed." Some of us in days gone by have heard it said that the Lutherans were not en-rapport with the times; but the fact is that no people in America have a more tender conscience in respect to public or private wrong, and no church under the shining sun is more thoroughly in sympathy with the great evangelical movements of the age than the Lutherans of the General Synod. It is time that we come to an appreciation of the real worth of the people with whom we are associated in Christian work, as well as of that noble ministry whose voice has been instructing, and whose example has been leading them to high planes of faith and action.

Another potent element of resource is found in the fact that the Lutheran Church is the church of the people. The marvelous growth of the Methodist Church in years past has largely been owing to the fact that it was recognized as the people's church and not the church of any particular class. And it is in those parts of our country to-day, where the Methodist Church maintains its former interest in the masses that its growth continues. Wherever Methodism has become the church of a class the congregations have cease to gain from the outside world. The Lutheran Church is becoming more and more the church of the masses. The rich and the poor are equally welcomed. We have few if any aristocratic churches, and none I trust where the poor are not received in loving fellowship. The simplicity, yet dignity of our service, the integrity of our membership, the contentment and sweet piety found among our people, make it possible for the masses to be reached by us. And thus it seems that God has greatly blessed us in our resources, to meet the opportunity and occupy the field before us. It can hardly be conceived that he would in his providence create the opportunity and not supply the necessary resources to meet it. But he

has supplied the resources in abundance. Of a truth he might say of us as he said of his Church of old, "What more can I do for my vineyard that I have not done for it."

OUR NEEDS.

IV. But we come in the last place to a consideration of our needs. There are so many pressing needs that a few only can be presented here.

1. First of all we need a clearer apprehension of the benefits of benevolence. Our Lord says, "Give and it shall be given back to you," "The liberal soul shall be made fat," "It is more blessed to give than to receive;" but some of us have been trying to give an exquisitely spiritual interpretation to these gracious words of promise. The world acts on the principle that you must get all you can and keep all you get, to prosper. But the law of the kingdom is just the opposite. He that loseth, findeth, and the Christ dies that we might have life eternal. To teach a people the joy of giving is to impart to their Church the elements of success. The more they give to others the more easily will their own funds be raised. The cry of "low salary" can only be hushed by the development of the missionary spirit. The way to avoid deficits is to encourage the most liberal contributions to missions. The irrational conclusion that a church can only give a strictly limited amount, and that large benevolent offerings will lessen the contributions for current expenses, is fatal to every line of success. The officers and pastors of many of our churches need to learn that only by addressing themselves to the cultivation of the missionary spirit can they expect to be free from financial embarrassments. The church that gives liberally to missions will not be troubled with deficits. The missionary church will provide liberal things for its own pastor, while the selfish church encouraged in its selfishness by its own pastor will withhold from him whatever it can. If a congregation is wise when seeking a pastor, this question will be asked: "Is the man's heart full of the spirit of missions? Will he teach our people the blessedness of giving?" And do you know that our people are beginning to inquire into this? They are not merely asking about that revival, but they are asking likewise

about results for missions. The mission spirit is one of the first things in a minister's life. A man would better not be in the ministry, than be in it and be indifferent to the mightiest work that God ever laid on the human heart. He who consumes the mission zeal of his people with fault-finding, with criticising Board and method, magnifying failure and dwarfing success, is the merest hireling in the pulpit and is like one who would stay the ark of God with impious hands. For a church with no love of missions is a dying church, having in it only the leaven of selfishness, the elements of spiritual decay and death.

We have seen that our people have wealth in abundance and it remains for us to develop the spirit of benevolence. And it can not be developed by threat and denunciation, but by sweet persuasion in the way of love. Perhaps we have been preaching too long upon the text "Will a man rob God?" because it is easier, but now it is high time to demonstrate the truth of the words of the Lord Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." In any way and in every way, instant in season and out of season, we must lead the people to that enlarged appreciation of the Gospel which will call forth rich gifts for Christ.

2. Again, we need the development of a higher type of church loyalty. Whatever may be said of church unity, still the highest unity is that which is composed of diverse elements. It is not necessary for us to be like every body else to have that unity of spirit which Christ prayed that his disciples might have. We cannot be Methodists and Baptists and Presbyterians and Lutherans and at the same time be good Christians. There is no essential truth that the others have that we do not cherish, and which is not found in our creed and polity. Our system of church government is in direct harmony with our American government and institutions, which are the product of the best Christian thought evolved during the ages. Our theology is the theology of modern evangelical Christianity, of Christ and his apostles, and is the theology that is preached by the great soul winners all over the world. There is no good reason why a Lutheran should not be a *good* Lutheran and thoroughly loyal to the church in which God has placed him. And intense loyalty to our own church need not diminish the fraternal recogni-

tion of other Christian denominations. Indeed as the appreciation of own deepens, we will be led more and more to rejoice in the touch of Christian sympathy and love which comes to us from others, and which we in turn give back to them. And we can never have the respect of others unless we manifest devotion and loyalty to our own. There is no more heartless and inexcusable practice than that of speaking disparagingly of the church in which the soul is sheltered and in which it has found a home. What shall we say of the man who can speak lightly of his church, or who can easily leave the church that baptized him, that nurtured him, and to which he owes more than he can ever repay? Such a spirit is the spirit of disintegration, of religious anarchy, and the man who cherishes it goes through the world tearing down more than he and those like him can build up. The loyal soldier is the delight of his commander; the loyal Christian is the joy of his Saviour, but to be loyal to Christ is to be loyal to the Church in which he has planted and nurtured us.

We are led to speak of this loyalty for out of it springs the hopefulness so necessary to future success. The hopeful man is about the only one who accomplishes anything. When the sick man loses hope he dies. Discouragement is only another name for defeat. To be despondent is to fall an easy prey to the enemy. The failures of the past are no certain pledge that we shall always fail. Whatever may be the rule in secular matters failure should not promote discouragement in the Christian life. One of the deepest meanings of the death of Christ is, that out of failure triumph may come. The splendid successes of the Cross are no more marked than those things which seemed at the first to be pitiful failures. Paul failed at Athens, but the very philosophy which he combated has become a hand-maiden to the truth. Judson failed for seven years but in the eighth year his first convert came. The mission field whose apparent failure may have tried the heart of the church for twenty years may brighten with triumph to-morrow. The city in which the church may have drooped and died out then, may present the most golden opportunity to-day. We are forever talking of the opportunity of yesterday and which is gone, forgetting that a

far brighter one has opened in its stead. We must cease to talk of lost opportunities, for all this sickening retrospect does but unfit us for pressing forth to the prize which is just at hand. The present opportunity must absorb our attention and awaken our energies. Yesterday, last week, last year are gone. Out of the eternities they came and back into the eternities they have sunk forever. But the living present and the unsurpassed opportunity it brings is ours. If we are hopeful, if we honor God by expecting large things from him, he will honor us by opening the windows of his storehouse of blessing and pouring his gracious gifts into the bosom of our own beloved, and of his own blood bought church.

3. Again, we need a more intense concentration of effort in Home Mission work. The time has come when the Church should know that the chief concentration of energy must be directed towards saving this nation for Christ. It has become a fact without dispute that America is to become the centre of that aggression which is to Christianize the world. The highest problems of civilization are being worked out here. If the Church loses here the whole world must suffer the loss. And how marvelous the growth of our country. States are being made in a decade. Cities spring up like magic, and the new lands are crowded with expectant immigrants. It is estimated that in 30 years our population will be one hundred millions. One eighth of our present population is of German origin alone, comprising those who came from the fatherland and the children of foreign born parents. No church has a greater work than ours to do. Our people are scattered everywhere waiting for the church of their fathers. The general impression is that the German cares less for the church than the American, but such is not the case. A Presbyterian minister, writing from Freeport, Illinois, to the *Interior* recently said: "In this city where I have preached for 16 years I lately had a count made of the attendants at the ten English and six German churches, to find that in proportion there were far more Germans than Americans in the respective congregations. It has been my good fortune to know not a few of the pastors who have served these churches during the past

years, and I cheerfully bear witness to a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which would honor any ministry in any part of the Christian world. In my own presbytery, the banner church for benevolence was long, not a body of urban Christians, but a little company of Frieseland farmers worshiping in a little church out upon the prairie, but sympathetically alive to all the great interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom." The writer continues: "The German is here; is here to stay; is here to multiply the race; is here to possess the land. If American Christians do their duty by the new comers, the German is here to bless the land. He brings with him a vitality and persistence simply indestructible. In what direction is this force to be turned? That depends upon the kind of help he receives from those whom he finds here." Whole volumes of words like these could be gathered from the utterances of far-seeing men of other denominations. And must we, who are of their own kith and kin and their own church, be the last to concentrate our efforts where duty and God's voice plainly call. "We are told by those who are best able to speak that we could plant a thousand hopeful missions to-day, if we had the men and money to encourage the beginnings. Every day is a day of crisis with us and every hour the "nick of time." Every energy must be bent toward this one thing of planting churches and sustaining our missions. The attention of the church should not for one moment be diverted from this mighty purpose. No distracting minor questions should be opened for dispute. Solomon says there is a time to break down and a time to build up. Our time of breaking down I am sure is over and our time of building up is here. We ought to be able to lay aside every difference in form or polity, and with united hand and heart concentrate all our powers to this great Home Mission work. The duty of the hour is so plain; the need of concentration of our forces so manifest, that we may well ask how long the patience of God will bear with us if we consume our energies with matters that are not vital to the evangelization of the people. The hour is perilous, the crisis is painful, and all the while God is urging us onward, and with patience, it would seem well nigh exhausted, is crying to us, "How long are ye slack to go up and possess the land."

4. Once more, we need a deeper sense of direct and personal responsibility in respect to Home Mission work. I cannot conceive of any church being placed where responsibilities are more grave than those which rest upon the General Synod. Our position among the other Lutheran bodies is such as to make us responsible in a high degree for the religious activity which prevails in them. Not that we are to put on any of their peculiar forms of worship, practices, or methods of work, but rather attract them to us by our zeal for Christ in gathering together the scattered household of faith, and winning those who are without to the hope of the Gospel. Of all the Lutheran bodies we have the most thoroughly equipped English colleges, and a ministry which is trained in the use of the English language. While we should cherish the German and Scandinavian churches we have, and plant others where we can, still our greatest task is that of planting English churches for English speaking and English thinking Lutherans. Our friends and helpers in Christ of other Lutheran bodies can do far more for those who speak in their own tongue than we can do. But the children of the German, Swedish and Danish churches in less than ten years will cease to read and speak in their native languages. Their fathers are averse to English preaching, and they in turn will soon have that or none. The faster the General Synod multiplies English churches the faster will the other bodies plant them also. The more English churches we can incite them to plant the greater will be our reward. And shall we be forever deaf to the mute appeal of nearly six millions of English speaking Lutherans who have no ministry in the language of the country which they have adopted and which they speak? If we do not provide for these, who shall gather them and keep them in the fold of Christ? It may be said in self exculpation that the other English churches will care for them, but can they do it even if they would? Again and again we are told by these bodies that if they had our name and catechism they could do tenfold more for them than they are now able to do. And we see the saddest feature of all in this, and it is, not that some of them do go into other churches, but that multitudes of them perish while waiting for the church of their fathers to provide for them a religious

home. And among these are a hundred thousand English speaking General Synod Lutherans who have gone to the West and South and now join the others in the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us."

Our responsibility is simply beyond estimation. Do we realize it? Are we ready to make the sacrifice necessary to meet it? Are we willing not only to make an offering, but to place ourselves on the altar and with prayer and gift carry life and peace where God bids us go? Many of us I fear relieve ourselves of that personal contact which is so necessary to impart life and power to mission work. Like the Tishbite prophet, we are willing to send something but are not ready to come in contact with the object of our pity. You remember that in the house of the Shunemite the prophet had a room which was always in waiting when he passed that way. One day when the prophet was in another part of the country the only son of the Shunemite was stricken with death, while out among the reapers, and the mother laid his body on the prophet's bed and then went for Elisha. The prophet called his servant and bade him take his staff, and go quickly, to speak to no man, and speed on his way and lay the staff on the face of the child. But the woman laid hold of the prophet saying: "As thy soul liveth I will not leave thee," and after a while he arose and followed her. The servant passed on before, and laid the staff on the face of the child, but there was neither voice nor hearing, and he returned and met the others saying, the child is not awaked. Then when the man of God was come, he entered the room, shut the door, and when he had prayed to God he went up and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands, and the life of the lad returned, and he gave him over to his mother. Too long has the Church been sending the dead staff of form and even treasure, forgetting that it is the touch of soul to soul that alone can awake a dead world from its sleep of sin. Our responsibility demands contact and heart touch, the laying of ourselves upon the altar, the presenting of our very bodies a living sacrifice, which is our reasonable service.

May the blessed Christ give us a fresh baptism of that divine

spirit which awoke in the first disciples the consciousness of their own responsibility to a world that was perishing without his Gospel. O for the quickening power of the Holy Ghost in the heart of our churches! Without his divine influence we can do nothing; but panoplied by his power, we may yet see a nation born in a day, a Church triumphant over all her foes.

ARTICLE VII.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO QUESTIONS OF GOVERNMENTAL POLICY.

By D. M. GILBERT, D. D., Harrisburg, Pa.

By Questions of Governmental Policy are here particularly meant propositions pertaining to the public welfare which are brought before the people for consideration, with a view to their decision at the polls. The subject, therefore, on which we purpose submitting a few reflections, might otherwise be correctly, and, perhaps, more definitely stated, as the relation of the Church, and especially of the minister in his office as an ordained preacher of the word, to politics.

It scarcely need be observed, that when one becomes a minister of the Gospel he does not thereby forfeit any of the privileges of citizenship, nor is he freed from many of its responsibilities. It is his right and duty, no less than of other men, to give attention to questions affecting the public weal, as, from time to time, they arise; to seek an intelligent understanding of what the principles of a wise and righteous political economy demand at his hands with regard to them; and, in the conscientious exercise of his best judgment, to cast the ballot to which he is entitled for that which he believes will tend to the furtherance of the best interests of the state of which he is a part. To what extent and in what manner he may properly give expression to his convictions on such subjects in his intercourse with his fellow citizens, and exert himself for the advancement of his views, is to be determined by each minister for himself, under the gospel law of expediency, with a wise reference to time,

place and circumstance,—each ever remembering, that he is, above all things, a recognized, official representative of Christ's kingdom in the world, with vows upon him which make it a paramount duty to see to it, that the interests of that kingdom suffer no detriment through fault or folly of his.

But the question here does not concern, in the least, the rights or duties of a minister of the Gospel, in civil affairs, as a private citizen. It is simply this: In his place and relations as an "ambassador for Christ," an expounder of God's revealed will, what should be his course with regard to mooted matters of governmental policy? Is it properly expected of ministers, as part of their duty, to discuss such topics and "make their pulpits and conventions ring with arguments and appeals" for votes? Is it proper and part of their duty to seek to identify their church organizations with that side of a political controversy the success of which they believe to be for the public good? Is it right for them in their representative capacity, in church conventions, or synods, even when unanimous in opinion, to endorse by formal resolution this or that view of any proposition pertaining to the civil government which has been submitted to the people for decision? In a word, however sound in principle, and promising of beneficent results in practice, the movement we are asked to advocate may be, should the Church of Christ be used as one of the direct agencies—a part of the machinery of a campaign—by which it is sought either to establish or overturn any particular theory of political economy?

The general rule taught us in our seminary days, and which has always been quite commonly accepted as well grounded in reason and scripture, is, that the Church has nothing to do, directly, with politics; and that "ministers, as such, have no political duties." We doubt if there are any who would be ready to advocate an addition to the vows laid upon candidates for the ministry, at their ordination, by which they would be solemnly bound, not only diligently to study and preach the word of the Lord, but diligently to study, also, the political questions of the day that they may be prepared to instruct the congregations committed to their charge how to vote thereupon. Nevertheless we frequently hear and read of deliverances given from the

pulpit and by ecclesiastical bodies on subjects unmistakably political in their character. If it is right, and properly in the line of that for which the Church and her ministry were instituted, we, of course, all ought earnestly to engage in it. If it is wrong, because lying beyond the sphere of the Church's mission in the world, we who are ministers, all, ought to refrain from it.

If it be said, that the general rule is, indeed, that just indicated, but that there are, now and then, allowable exceptions,—the question arises, on what principle, or by what rule, shall the exceptions be determined? Shall we say: Those political propositions which have an important bearing upon the moral and religious, as well as upon the material interests of individuals and communities, and with regard to which it seems clear that one course alone can be attended by good results, shall constitute the exceptions? If so, where and by whom shall the line be drawn? Few, if any, issues arise in the political world which do not present moral aspects on which much stress is laid by all parties to the controversy over them. In how far, then, must the moral be involved in the political, and how clearly must we be certified of the infallibility of the judgment which pronounces a proposed measure right or wrong, to justify our taking part in the pulpit and through church conventions in a canvass for or against it? It is clear that one ought not to follow blindly the lead of others in such matters, nor is the case relieved of its objectionable features by each minister deciding these points for himself. It may be fairly assumed, of course, that right thinking men, to say nothing of Christian ministers, desire only such governmental regulations as will serve to promote the highest welfare of the whole people. They wish laws under which equal privileges and opportunities for advancement are extended to all classes of our citizens; they want the business of the state transacted honestly, as well as that of individuals; they desire recognized evils of every sort to be removed, or reduced to a minimum. Differences exist, not with regard to ends, but to the methods to be adopted for securing them; and on almost every question of method, or policy, opinions of ministers will vary as much as those of other men. And as one minister is, of course, as much entitled to press his conscientiously held views

on the attention of the Church and the world through the pulpit as another, we can readily picture to ourselves the lamentable results of thus dragging the Church into the heated atmosphere of party strife. Nor, indeed, would the case be much bettered if, on any given issue before the people, the ministry were of one mind. There would, nevertheless, be a periodical transformation of our congregational assemblies for the worship of God into something of the nature of a town meeting, and a lowering of the pulpit to the level of the hustings.

But we have seen it stated, in connection with a recent case, that "the intense public interest attending the campaign necessitated a stand on the part of the pulpit as for or against the measure." Reasoning of that sort would, of course, justify the discussion of the tariff, or any topic in which a deep, public interest might happen at any time to be shown, before our congregations. There is nothing in public interest in a question, however intense, to necessitate—nor should it be permitted to constrain—the occupant of any pulpit to go one hair's breadth beyond the line of his appointed duty as a preacher of the divine word. And, again, if the position be taken, that, not only the pastor himself, but those to whom he ministers, with scarcely an exception, being thoroughly convinced that a proposed measure is precisely what should be adopted for the abatement of a great evil, it is right that he should, in his official capacity, bear public testimony to that effect for himself and for them, it would become the minister assuming that position to examine anew the nature and object of Christ's kingdom and what is comprehended in, and what excluded by, his commission as an officer of that kingdom. Martensen justly says: "When some one in these days affirmed, that the task of the preacher is to declare the consciousness of the fellowship, to be 'the mouth-piece of the congregation,' he certainly stated an important truth; but he also uttered a serious error if he intended to make this the only or the highest object. For the consciousness of the church, as it may be found at this time or that, is in many respects very undefined and variable, composed both of spiritual and worldly elements. A church consciousness which does not seek by means of preaching to submit itself to the testing of

God's Word and by its fulness to be edified, will very soon find itself reduced to an indistinct, powerless spiritualism, which knows no difference between the sayings of men and the saving doctrine of Christ. And the preacher who makes himself only 'the mouth of the congregation,' and who does not prepare himself, if need be alone,—fortifying himself with holy Scripture and the ecumenical testimony—to speak against the erring consciousness of the congregation, infected as it is with the spirit of the day, will soon become the servant of the church in such a sense that he can no longer be the Lord's servant. The preacher, therefore, is rightly called 'the minister of the Word,' and it is also in harmony with the word of God, that the Church shall test and prove that which they hear according to the pattern of the apostolic Church."*

The fact is, that no successful attempt can be made to specify and justify exceptions to the rule, that the Church, and the ministry, as such, have nothing to do, save indirectly, with questions of state policy, simply because there can be no exceptions. The Scriptures, to which alone we can look for safe guidance, do not allow any. The position taken by him who is "head over all things to the Church," is unquestionably the only true one, and that which should be unhesitatingly occupied and uncompromisingly maintained by all his ministering servants.

Nor does it appear difficult to ascertain clearly and definitely, if we will but mark our Lord's example and weigh his utterances, what that position is. We turn, for instance, to that incident in the ministry of Jesus (Luke 12 : 13, 14) when "one of the company said unto Him, 'Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me.'" Promptly came the reply "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" It was a strange, harsh, unexpected answer, no doubt, to him to whom it was given. He had come to Jesus, evidently acknowledging, in a general way at least, his divine wisdom and authority. Some think, that he was suffering wrong at the hands of a brother who was wickedly seeking to deprive him of his fair

*Christian Dogmatics. By Dr. H. Martensen, Bishop of Seeland, Denmark. p. 414.

share of their father's estate. Others suppose, because of the warning against covetousness which follows, that the petitioner himself was the grasping man, over eager about worldly gain, and that he here saw a hope of having set aside the old, Jewish law of inheritance which gave the elder brother a double portion. If that be true, his thought was, perhaps, something like this: "You preach the Gospel of love; that one should not be exalted at the expense of another; a Gospel of equality in a certain sense. There is no good reason, in the nature of things, and especially in the light of your general teaching, why my brother should have twice as much as I of the inheritance, simply because he is my senior. He is a disciple of yours; he will, no doubt, recognize your authority; speak to him that he divide with me share and share alike." But we do not know which of these conjectures is correct. The Saviour asked no questions such as would bring out the true state of the case in this respect. And we are left without information concerning this point, because it would have been here of no real importance. It did not matter a whit, as far as the answer to the petition was concerned, what was the character of the petitioner, or the nature of his real, or fancied, grievance. Whether he was in the right or in the wrong, every such demand could only have been answered in this one way, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?"

Jesus might, as a practical expositor suggests, have taken the part of a judge, or a lawyer, or an arbitrator, as well as that of a physican, and have ended legal difficulties as happily as he did diseases." He might have given direction for the regulation of the external affairs of the communities in which he sojourned, or for those of the land at large, incomparably wiser and better fitted for promoting the happiness and welfare of the people than those under which they were living; but he here distinctly says, that nothing of that sort was in his commission. He had not come into the world for any such purpose; and in this short, sharp, reproving question the Lord enunciates a general truth of the very highest importance, a fundamental rule, or law, of his divine kingdom, which should never be set aside, nor lost sight of, by those to whom the affairs of his church and

kingdom have been committed. It is, in its fullest sense, identical in meaning with the declaration, afterwards repeatedly made to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world." It is established *in* this world; it is *over* the kingdoms of this world; but it is not of this world. It is not worldly in its origin, nature, objects, nor in its modes of operation for the attainment of its objects. It is a spiritual kingdom, seeking a spiritual dominion over men, by the use of divinely appointed spiritual means and agencies. It does not interfere in the affairs of worldly kingdoms or governments, nor seek to become a judge or arbiter between men or parties, as to this or that line of governmental policy; and yet it wields an ever increasing, beneficent influence over nations and kingdoms, elevating and purifying them more and more through the enlightening, cleansing, sanctifying power of the divine truth committed to it (and which it is its one office to proclaim) in the hearts and consciences of individual men. In the case cited, Jesus not only disclaims all authority for that which is asked at his hands, but virtually declares that he had come for an entirely different and better kind of work. Instead of concerning himself about an external rule or law, which he tells us lay beyond his province, he sought, by his warning against covetousness, and the teaching that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," to implant in the hearts of these men such principles and desires as would prompt and enable them to adjust their difficulty in the spirit of Christian love. And the word and example of our Lord, here as elsewhere, reaching far beyond the particular case in hand, furnish the guiding principle for determining the relation of Christianity and the Church, not merely to every function of the state, but to every question of state policy as well. They say in effect to the ministry: these are matters altogether apart from your appointed sphere; you were not made judges or oracles with regard to them; you were not ordained to preach your personal opinions of public measures, however important they may be, or however clear and strong your convictions concerning them, but the Gospel of Christ and that alone.

Nor can it be justly said that this is a forced, farfetched interpretation of the passage to which we have referred. We turn

to such expositors, critical and practical, as we happen to have at hand, and find that they are in full accord as to its general teaching. Some of their comments, *in loco*, are as follows:

"This shows us what is the nature and constitution of Christ's kingdom; it is a spiritual kingdom and not of this world. It does not intermeddle with civil rights," etc.—*Matthew Henry*.

"Readily those who admire a spiritual teacher sink down to that point that they wish to convert him into an umpire for the settlement of domestic and civil matters in dispute."—*Bengel's Gnomon*.

"Who appointed me to decide causes, or an umpire to divide inheritances? His 'kingdom was not of this world:' he appeared as a teacher and a Saviour: he was not commissioned by the father to take the civil magistrate's office out of his hand; and if he had attempted it, the people would have inquired of him, as the Israelite had formerly done of Moses, who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Ex. 2: 13-15.—*Thomas Scott*.

"Dost thou not yet know him better, whom thou namest master, (teacher)?" * * * "My kingdom is not of this world, and I meddle not with any earthly judgment or temporal business, so that the enemies of the truth to which I bear witness can never say of me as was said there of Moses. Ex. 2: 13-15. * * The word and the example of the master is of perpetual obligation upon his servants too, warning them ever against injuring the efficiency of their spiritual function by mixing up with it things quite foreign to its character."—*Stier's Words of the Lord Jesus*.

It "shows that the Saviour was not minded to enter upon a sphere which could not possibly be his own." *Lange's Bibelwerk*.

"Although no fault could be found with the request itself, Christ absolutely refused to accede to it; declined here, as ever, to interfere in affairs of civil life. It was, indeed, most certain, that the truth he brought, received into the hearts of men, would modify and change the whole framework of society, that his word and life were the seeds out of which the Christian states with laws affecting property as everything else, in due time would evolve themselves; but his work was from the in-

ward to the outward. His adversaries more than once sought to thrust upon him the exercise, or to entangle him in the assumption, of a criminal jurisdiction, as in the case of the woman taken in adultery, or else in a jurisdiction civil and political, as in the matter of the Roman tribute. But on each occasion he carefully avoided the snare laid for him, the rock on which so many religious reformers, as eminently Savonarola, have made shipwreck; keeping himself within the limits of that moral and spiritual world, from which alone an effectual renovation of the outer life of man could proceed." * * * "But though refusing this man what he sought he gives him something much better than he sought."—*Archbishop Trench.*

"Jesus came for another purpose, to preach the Gospel and so bring men to a *willingness* to do right." * * * "We may remark, also, that the appropriate business of the ministers of the Gospel is to attend to the spiritual concerns. They should have little to do with the temporal matters of the people."—*Albert Barnes.*

"A question literally repudiating the office which Moses assumed. Ex. 2 : 14. "*The influence of religious teachers in the external relations of life has ever been immense, when only the INDIRECT effect of their teaching; but whenever they intermeddle DIRECTLY with secular and political matters, the spell of that influence is broken.*"*—*Jamieson, Fausset and Brown.*

From the fact that these are not selected authorities, but all that are at the moment, within our reach, coupled with the further fact that they are of different generations, nationalities and ecclesiastical connections, it may be fairly concluded that the interpretation we have given, so far from being strained, is a natural, fully warranted presentation of the Word's teaching, and but echoes "the ecumenical testimony" on the point we are considering.

Are the Church and her ministry to be without influence, or weight, then, it may be asked, in the civil and political affairs of a people? Assuredly not. They have "*an immense influence.*" That is either implied or plainly declared in all the foregoing.

*The italics and small caps. are not ours, but those of the commentary.

As Dr. Eugene Bersier, a distinguished writer and preacher of the French Protestant church, has well said, "Historically it is certain that no influence acts more powerfully on politics than that of religion. It is religion that makes the people and decides their destiny. This has been manifest in all ages." * * * "To construct politics without taking account of religion is a foolish enterprise. What would you say of an architect who in building would not consider the climate the changes of temperature of atmospheric conditions. Religion is the atmosphere of souls and they are fools who think they can found anything solid or permanent while making no account of it. I believe in the profound influence of Christianity over the political destiny of the people. I believe that the more the Christianity which is preached to them is faithful to the spirit of Jesus Christ, the more free, great and prosperous they will be, and that the more this Christianity is disfigured the more they will be condemned to anarchy." * * * "But on what condition will Christianity save a people?" * * * "In acting like Jesus Christ, in an entirely spiritual manner—in liberating souls, in preaching justice, holiness and love—on this condition will be realized in a striking manner the words of Scripture, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.' "

"But if, finding this course of action too modest, the church wishes to descend into the arena of politics; if listening to the appeal of parties demanding it, she forgets the example of the Master, and intermeddles when he refused to interpose, then she compromises her cause and loses it." * * * The church must not "array herself under the banner of any party, however liberal that party may be. The Gospel dominates all parties; it addresses itself to all, and it must preach justice and charity alike to all. This is its mission. It must not degrade itself by becoming the tool of any system, dynastic or republican. Let us have, as citizens, our individual convictions on the questions which each day brings forward; but let us carefully guard against making the gospel, in any degree, a partaker therein."*

* *The Homiletic Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 36-38. The whole of the suggestive discourse from which the above paragraphs have been

Dr. Bersier had in mind, no doubt, in his discussion, certain political questions of special interest to his own countrymen; but the scriptural principle he emphasizes holds good, of course, everywhere, and is applicable to any question of state policy that can arise. This view of the relation of the Church to politics—no matter of what nature the interests involve—may not be very popular in some quarters. We have reason, indeed, to feel assured that it is not. But it is no part of our business, in connection with such a subject, to ask what may be popular here or there, or may tend to make us popular. The thing of first moment for every minister of the Gospel is, to settle clearly in his mind where the path, marked out by the word and example of the Lord, lies, that he may steadily walk in that path whether men are disposed to approve or condemn.

ARTICLE VIII.

A STUDY ON JOSEPHUS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By REV. BERNHARD PICK, PH. D., Allegheny, Pa.

[CONTINUED FROM JULY QUARTERLY.]

II. CHARACTER AND CREDIBILITY OF JOSEPHUS.

No one who is acquainted with the history of Josephus, will hesitate to admire the dexterity with which he extricated himself from all the difficulties of his situation, and to acknowledge his great abilities. "Amid the tempest of civil confusion and rebellion, he steered his personal course safely; and when at last he was thrown perfectly helpless, as it seemed, upon the rocks, even then his singular address and presence of mind carried him forward, from a position the most desperate, into the very bosom of imperial favor, where, notwithstanding the inex-

taken, will well repay a careful reading. The position and general line of thought of this paper having been laid down long before we had seen Dr. B's discourse, we are naturally gratified to find it, from beginning to end, confirmatory of our view and based upon the very words of Jesus to which we have made our chief appeal.

orable hatred of his compatriots, and the jealousy of courtiers, he continued to repose to his life's end. To have enjoyed and retained the favor of *one* Despot, and to fall only with his patron, is a task that has been achieved by few among the frequenters of courts; but our Josephus won for himself, and survived the smiles of three!"* While therefore great ability will not be denied to him, yet there is a difference of opinion as to his *character*. "Character, whether intellectual or moral, is to be estimated, not in the abstract, but by the aid of some comparison, explicit or implied, with individuals of that class to which the one in question obviously belongs. But, we must ask, to what class does Josephus belong, and with whom might we attempt to compare him? Like his nation among the nations, so he, in the midst of the great convention of illustrious men, of his own, or of other times, stands apart. Nay, and this is the very edge of our perplexity, he stands severed even from his own people! Is he a Grecian? but yet his no Greek: he is of the Roman state; but yet he is no Roman: he is a philosopher; but he belongs to no school; and even though he be a Jew, he is not of the Jews; for by them he is repudiated with the liveliest resentment; while by himself they are treated by a calm pity, almost as if he were giving the history of a race extinct!"† Amid such a perplexity it will therefore not be surprising to find some who regard Josephus as a base traitor and apostate, whereas others take quite the opposite view and regard the steadfast adherence of Josephus to Judaism, and his able defence of its tenets as sufficient ground not only for pardoning his "supposed" wrongs to his nation, but for this solemn verdict of Jewish posterity: "He has made his peace with us."‡ We agree, however, with Schürer, who says: "Here, too, it is necessary to distinguish. No one will defend his character. Vanity and self-complacency are the traits of his being. And though he was not that base traitor, as whom he has described himself in his biography, yet he performed the desertion to the Romans and the close adjunction to the Flavian imperial house with more dexterity and equanimity than it should have seemed

*Traill, *Jewish War*, p. 5 sq.

†Traill, *Jewish War*, p. 5 sq.

‡Hamburger, *Real-Encyclop. für Bibel und Talmud*, II., p. 505.

for an Israelite who mourned over the downfall of his people."*

As to his character, there is likewise a difference of opinion as to his *credibility as an historian*. Some have styled him the *φιλαλήθης ἀνὴρ*,† the *relator verissimus*,‡ the *Graecus Livius*,§ while others think he should rather be called a *fabulator* than an *historicus*,|| because "he is often untrue, and his archæology abounds in distortions of historical facts, as in falsifications which arise from his inordinate national pride; and whenever he deals in numbers, he shows his oriental love of exaggeration."¶ A third opinion is, that on the whole Josephus may be trusted: such is the opinion of Schürer** and Keim. Says the latter: "No one has denied his faithfulness on the whole, and it is confirmed by comparing his writings with the Old and New Testament, and with other literature, and he has for the most part provided with his own hand the best material for correcting his errors and his disguise of truth."††

III. WORKS OF JOSEPHUS.

The works to which he owes his reputation in the Christian world, and which have been preserved, are as follows:

1. *About the Jewish War* (περί τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου). It consists of seven books. Book I. extends from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) to the death of Herod (4 B. C.) Book II. goes to the commencement of the great war (A. D. 66). Book III. describes the war in Galilee (A. D. 67). Book IV. reaches to the siege of Jerusalem. Book V., VI. tell of the siege and capture of Jerusalem. Book VII. describes the last scenes of the war. From the preface of the work we learn, that the work was originally written in Aramaean, but that it was afterwards translated into Greek with the aid of some persons

**Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 26.

†Theophylact. in Matth. 22: 7; Isidorus Pelusiota iv., epist 75.

‡Jordanis *De rebus Gecticis*, c. 4.

§Hieron. Epist. 22 ad Eustach. de custodia virginitatis, c. 35.

||Ludolf *Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop.*

¶Niebuhr, *Lectures*, III., 455.

***Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 26 sq.

††*History of Jesus of Nazara*, I., p. 21 (London, 1873).

better qualified than he was at the time. Concerning this work we read the following in his treatise *Against Apion* I., 9:

"As for myself, I have written a particular account of the war, strictly in accordance with the parts of which I had personal knowledge; for I commanded in Galilee against the Romans, whom we withstood as long as it was possible. When taken prisoner by them I was compelled to attend Vespasian and Titus; at first in bonds; but afterwards being set at large, I accompanied the latter when he advanced from Alexandria to carry on the siege of Jerusalem. During the period of the siege nothing escaped my observation; and as to what occurred under my eye in the Roman camp, I carefully noted it; while it was I alone who understood the reports made by deserters from the city. Afterwards, when enjoying leisure at Rome, and having all my materials in readiness, I enjoyed the assistance of persons competent in the Greek language, by whose aid I composed my history. Confident of the truth and accuracy of what I had written, I did not scruple to submit it, in the first instance to those who had commanded in the war—namely Vespasian and Titus; and to whom I appealed as my witnesses. To these imperial persons, I say, the first copies of the work were presented, and afterwards to many of the Romans, who also had acted a part in the war. Moreover, I disposed of many copies to such of my countrymen as were conversant with Greek literature; and among these were Julius Archelaus, and the venerable Herod, and the most admirable king Agrippa.* All these bore testimony to my strict regard to truth, and if through ignorance or partiality I had misrepresented or omitted facts,

*Of the sixty-two letters addressed to Josephus by king Agrippa, recording his testimony to the authenticity of the narrative, Josephus gives two: "King Agrippa salutes his very dear friend Josephus. I have perused your book with the utmost pleasure. You seem to me to have composed with much greater care and accuracy than any who have written upon the subject. Send me the remainder of the work. Farewell, my very dear friend." * * * "From what you have written, you do not appear to require my instruction, necessary to our acquaintance with the whole train of events from the commencement. When we meet, however, I shall inform you as to many of those particulars of which you profess to be ignorant." *Life* §65, 10, 11.

they would neither have dissembled, nor have repressed their opinion." Titus ordered the work to be placed in the public library, and signed it with his own hand. The book was probably written between A. D. 75-79.

2. *Jewish Antiquities* (Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, or merely ἡ ἀρχαιολογία), consisting of 20 books. The main object for writing this work was to raise his nation in the estimation of the Roman world, and to confute certain calumnious accounts of their early history, which increased the hatred and contempt in which they were held.* The first ten books of the *Antiquities* give the history of Israel to the end of the Babylonish captivity. His main source for this part was the Old Testament and the then current tradition. Book XI. goes to the death of Alexander the Great; Book XII. to the death of Judas Maccabeus; Book XIII. reaches to the death of Alexandra (B. C. 69); Book XIV. to the accession of Herod the Great (37 B. C.) Books XV. XVI. and XVII. contain the history of Herod (36-4 B. C.), and the other three books relate events to the beginning of the Jewish war (A. D. 4-66). Very meagre is his treatment of the period from Nehemiah to Antiochus Epiphanes (cir. 470-175 B. C.) The period between 175-135 is sketched according to the first book of Maccabees, supplemented from other sources, as Polybius.† The history of the Maccabees (from the years 135-37 B. C.) is chiefly derived from the lost *Histories* of Strabo,‡ and of Nicolaus of Damascus.§ Livy too is mentioned.|| The reign of Herod is described according to the *History of Nicolaus of Damascus*¶ and a book entitled the *Memorabilia of King Herod* (ὑπομνήματα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου).** The narrative of Herod's immediate successors is extremely brief. It almost looks, as if

*Comp. *Pompeius Trogus*; Plinius *Hist. Nat.*, XIII, 46; Tacitus *Hist. V.*, 4, 5, 8; Seneca *De Superst.* (ed. Maase) III., p. 427; *Quintilian*, III., 7, 4.

†Comp. *Antt.* xii., 9, 1.

‡*ibid.* xiii., 10, 4. 11, 3. 12, 6; xiv., 3, 1. 4, 3. 6, 4. 7, 2. 8, 3. xiv., 1, 2.

§*ibid.* xiii., 8, 4. 12, 6; xiv., 1, 3. 4, 3. 6, 4.

||*ibid.* xiv., 4, 3.

¶*ibid.* xii., 3, 2; xvi., 7, 1.

***ibid.* xv., 6, 3.

Josephus had no written documents. All the more detailed are the accounts of events at the death of Caligula and accession of Claudius, in the year 41, and which do not belong to Jewish history.* For the history of the high priests, Josephus probably made use of the official lists, which he mentions *contra Apion* 1, 7.† Of great value are the copies of the Roman decrees in favor of the Jews, inserted by Josephus.‡ The eighteenth book of the *Antiquities* also contains the so-called *testimony concerning Christ*, of which we shall speak farther on. The Jewish *Antiquities* were probably completed about A. D. 93 or 94, in the thirteenth year of Domitian, and in the fifty-sixth of the life of Josephus.§

3. *Against Apion*, or *The Apology of Flavius Josephus on the Antiquity of the Jews Against Apion*, two books. This work, which was dedicated to Epaphroditus|| and which is unquestionably the most successful literary effort of Josephus, is an "Apology for Judaism." It is directed against Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria, whose hostility to Judaism was not only deep, persistent and unscrupulous, but who also appears to have been profligate, unscrupulous and sophistical, and his lying stories surpass the inventions of the most mendacious fabulists. According to Josephus the grounds of his attack were threefold: 1, that the Jews were of Egyptian origin and were expelled under highly discreditable circumstances; 2, that they were the great disturbers of the peace at Alexandria; and, 3, that their rites were bloodthirsty and absurd. Under this last head he gave the story of the worship of the head of an ass in the temple at Jerusalem, which is repeated by Tacitus.¶ The work *Against Apion* has yet another feature which entitles it to the consideration of the student, viz., the extracts from writers whose works are no more extant. The work was probably

*Antt. xix., 1-4.

†Provided that copies still existed after the war.

‡Antt. xiv., 10; xiv., 12; xvi., 6; xix., 5; xx., 1, 2.

§Ibid. xx., 11 towards the end.

||Who this Epaphroditus was, is difficult to tell. Was the friend of St. Paul and the patron of Josephus one and the same person?

¶*Hist.*, v., 4.

written after the Antiquities; that is to say after the year 93, since they are already mentioned in *Against Apion*, i., 10.

Speaking of the "Antiquities" and the "Against Apion," Mr. Traill says: "Throughout the Roman world, the Jew had not merely become the object of distrust and aversion; but he was altogether *misunderstood*. The just titles of this people to the respect of mankind were not admitted or apprehended, even by the best informed persons; and instead of the unquestionable historic documents by means of which his race could trace its history, far up beyond that belt of fables which separated other nations from the early times of their corporate existence, instead of the high truths embodied in this genuine history, the most absurd suppositions, as to their origin, had been blindly accepted, and were carelessly repeated, even by the most candid and learned of the gentile writers; while the grossest slanders, as to their worship and customs, were on the lips of the vulgar. Distinguished as they were from the mass of men in almost every possible respect, so in this, that the very name, Jew, had come to stand as the symbol of the most inequitable judgment which the consent of mankind has ever, or at that time had ever, sanctioned.

"Josephus, at once by his extensive acquaintance with the world, and by his ample knowledge of Grecian history and literature, had become qualified to feel, and to feel in its utmost force, the extreme injustice of that sentence* of contempt and hatred under which his nation writhed. ¶ they, the mass of them, inly burned with a sullen resentment of so much injury—an injury which they exaggerated, in one sense, and underrated in another; he, far better informed, measured the length and breadth of the wrong; and he perceived, moreover, the means of repelling it by positive evidence. Like an accomplished advocate, therefore, he gathered up his documents, disposed them in the best order, and addressed himself to the worthy task of pleading the cause of the injured Jew, at the bar of the world."*

4. *The Life*. The treatise is less a biography of the author, but more a defence of Josephus from the charges against his

**Jewish War*, p. 12 sq.

conduct in Galilee brought by Justus of Tiberias. "For purposes of his own, Justus had evidently represented Josephus as having been much more patriotic" and hostile to Rome than suited the Jewish favorite of the Cæsars. To counterbalance these charges, Josephus did not scruple to represent his own conduct in the most odious light, as that of a deliberate traitor to his own country. This *apologia pro domo*, in which the biographical notices of himself serve only as an Introduction and Epilogue (*Life*, 1-6, 75-76), and which was probably written after the year A. D. 100, is "a production, in several respects, unmatched among the literary remains of antiquity; for no other piece of autobiography has been preserved with which, altogether, this may be compared. By its individuality and minuteness of detail it seems to associate itself rather with modern, than with ancient writings—one characteristic excepted, which the reader will not fail to notice; namely the writer's unconscious simplicity in commending himself. On this ground, however, he by no means exceeds the limits that were customarily indulged to the egotism of public men in ancient times. That refinement of feeling, and personal modesty which Christianity at first generated, and which it has diffused, imposes restraints upon the impulses of self-love, unthought of in the ancient world; nor is Josephus to be individually blamed in this behalf; or if blamed, how amply might he excuse himself by instances cited from the oration and epistles of Cicero!"*

Besides these four works, Josephus seems to have written another, now lost, which from his references *ναθῶς καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδιλῶκαμεν* (*Antiq.*, xii., 2, 1. 2. 4. 4. 6. 5, 11) appears to have borne on the history of the Seleucidic kings. The so-called *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, or *On the Rule of Reason*,† which is found in some editions of Josephus, is not his, though it is ascribed to him by Eusebius‡ and Jerome.§ The treatise *περὶ τοῦ παντός* bearing Josephus' name, is now generally

*Traill, *War of Josephus*, p. 3.

†Comp. Freudenthal, *Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift: Ueber die Herrschaft der Vernunft (iv. Maccabäerbuch) eine Predigt aus dem ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert*, Breslau, 1872.

‡*Hist. Eccl.* III., 10

§*Catalogus Script. Eccl.*, s. v. Josephus.

ascribed to Hippolytus. In many passages of his works, Josephus refers to works, which he had planned to write, but whether he wrote them or not, we are at a loss to know. Thus, (a), a work *περὶ τῶν νόμων* (*Antt.* III., 5, 6; 8, 10), which is probably the same as "On Customs and their Reasons;" *περὶ ἐθῶν καὶ αἰτιῶν* (*Antiq.*, IV., 8, 4), to which probably refer the more general references *Antiq.* preface 4; I., I, I; 10, 5; III., 6, 6. (b.) A work *περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ*, "about God and his essence," in four books (*Antiq.*, XX., 11, 2).

TESTIMONY OF ANCIENT WRITERS TO THE WRITINGS OF JOSEPHUS.

One of the earliest testimonies to the writings of Josephus is probably that of SÜETONIUS, who in his *Vespasian* ch. 5 says: "Moreover Josephus one of the captives of noble rank, and who was then in bonds, confidently affirmed that he (Josephus) should speedily be released by him (Vespasian) as emperor.

JUSTIN MARTYR, the Christian philosopher, appeals in his "Exhortation to the Greeks," to the two Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, especially to the latter whose "Jewish Antiquities" he mentions by name.

In a fragment found only in a MS. of the Imperial Library at Vienna, IRENAEUS quotes a passage concerning Moses, which is found *Antiq.* II., 10.

THEOPHILUS, bishop of Antioch in his work to Autolytus, speaks of "Josephus, who composed a history of the Jewish war with the Romans."

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, when speaking (*Strom.* i.) of Daniel's prophecy of the "seventy weeks" refers to Josephus.

TERTULLIAN in his "apology" speaks of Josephus as of the "home-born champion" of the Jews "et qui istos aut probat, aut revincit, Judaeus Josephus, antiquitatum Judaicarum vernaculus vindex."

MINUCIUS FELIX refers to Josephus as to an authority, when he says "examine the works of Flavius Josephus or of Antonius Julianus.

ORIGEN refers to him especially in the Treatise against Celsus I. c. xlvii., and in the Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, xc., xvii. Referring to James the Just, Origen says: "Such was

his reputation among the people, for virtue—*δικαιοσύνη*, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote of the Jewish Antiquities in 20 books, wishing to assign a reason for the calamities of his people and the destruction of the temple, affirms that their overthrow was divinely inflicted as a punishment for their guilty behavior towards James the brother of Jesus, who is called—the Christ. Strange is it," adds Origen, "that this writer who would not admit our Jesus to be the Christ, should nevertheless render such a testimony to the virtue of James."

PORPHYRY in his treatise *De abstinence* iv., §ii. distinctly refers to the works of Josephus as the Jewish War, Antiquities and Against Apion.

From these testimonies we see that the writings of Josephus were well known to the learned at an early period, perhaps before the close of the third century. Without quoting any other writings, we will only give the opinion of Jerome, who styles him "vernaculus scriptor Judaeorum,"* and the "Grecian Livy,"† as expressed in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers: "Josephus, son of Matthias, a priest of Jerusalem, having been made prisoner by Vespasian, was left with his son Titus; and afterwards coming to Rome, presented his seven books concerning the Jewish capture to the two emperors—father and son, who consigned them to the public library. Such was his reputation that a statue was erected to his honor. He moreover composed twenty books of antiquities, commencing from the creation of the world, and continued to the fourteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and two books, also archaeological, against Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria, who had been sent to Caligula, as ambassador on the part of the Gentiles, and had written a book against Philo, derogatory to the Jewish people."

a. Editions of the Works of Josephus.‡

The first edition of the Greek Text of the works of Josephus was edited by Arnold Peraxylus Arlen, and published by Fro-

*Epist. ad Marcellum.

†Epist. ad Eustochium.

‡For the full titles, compare Oberthür in *Fabricius Biblioth. Graeca* ed. Harles, vol. v., 31, seq.; Fürst *Bibl. Jud.* ii., 117 seq.; also Zuchold *Bibl. Theol.*, i., 629.

benius and Episcopius, Basle 1544. This edition was the basis of the Seneven editions published in 1611 and 1634, which again were followed by the Leipzig-edition, published by Iffig in 1691. A more correct text is found in the edition of Hudson (2 vols. fol. Oxford 1720). All the material of former times, has been collected by Havercamp, whose edition of Josephus (2 vols. fol., Amste—Leyden—Utrecht, 1726), has been the *textus receptus*. Havercamp was followed by Oberthür in his *Flavii Josephi Hebraei opera omnia* (3 vols., Lipsiæ, 1782–85) and Richter (6 vols., ibid., 1825–27). An improved edition, though based on Havercamp, is the *Flavii Josephi opera, Graece et Latine, recognovit* Guill. Dindorfius 2 vols., Paris 1845–1847, which was followed by that of Bekker (6 vols., Lipsiæ, 1855–56). A new edition is now published by S. A. Naber; vol. i., Leipsic, 1888. A critical edition of the *Jewish War* was published by Cardwell (2 vols., Oxford, 1837), who collated six MSS. A separate edition of the *Vita (life)*, was published by Henke (Braunschweig 1786). A new edition may be expected of Prof. Niese of Marburg; a part of this new edition comprising the *Antiquities*, I.–X was published in 1885–1887.

b. Translations.

Of all works of Josephus, with the exception of the *Vita*, there exists an *old Latin translation*, which was probably prepared by Cassiodorus.* A remarkable codex of the Latin translation of *Antt.* vi.–x. (7th cent.) is the papyrus in the Ambrosian library at Milan.† The first printed edition of the Latin Josephus was published by John Schüssler at Augsburg 1470; the last appeared in 1617. The Latin translations which are published with the editions of the Greek text, are mostly of recent times. A new edition is contemplated for the *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* published by the Vienna Academy.‡

**De Institutione div. lit.* c. 17.

†Comp. Muratori *Antiquitates Italicae* iii., 919 sq.; Reifferscheid, *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener akademie*, philos.-histor. klasse, vol. 67 (1871), p. 510–512.

‡For the editions of the *Vet. Lat.* see Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graeca* ed. Harles v., 27sq.; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, ii., 118sq.

With the Latin translation of the *Bellum Judaicum* is not to be confounded the Latin translation which is generally ascribed to *Hegesippus*, but which is probably a work of Ambrose of Milan. The name *Egesippus* is probably a corruption from *Josippus*, the Latin form for *Ἰώσηπος*. The work is an abbreviated narrative of Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* with additions of the author. The first edition was published at Paris 1510, and reprinted also in Gallandi's *Biblioth. patrum* tom. vii. (under the name of Ambrose) and in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* tom. xv. A critically revised text was commenced by Weber of Marburg, and completed after his death by professor Julius Cæsar, who has elaborately discussed the question of the authorship and date. The title of this edition is *Hegesippus qui dicitur sive Egesippus de bello Judaico ope codicis Casselani recognitus, ed. Weber, opus morte Weberi interruptum absolvit Cæsar, Marburg, 1864*. A new edition is contemplated for the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.*

Under the name of *Josippon* or *Joseph, the son of Gorion* there is also extant a compendium of the history of the Jewish people from the exile to the destruction of Jerusalem. It has generally been believed to be the Hebrew original of Josephus. But modern criticism has proved it to be the work of an Italian Jew of the tenth century. The best edition with a Latin translation is that by J. F. Breithaupt: *Josephus Gorionides lat. versus, etc.*, Gothae 1707.†

*Comp. Gronovii *Observatorum in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis monobiblos* (Daventriae 1651) capp. 1, 6, 11, 16, 21, 24; Oudin, *De Scrip. eccl.* J. ii., (1722) col. 1026-1031; Fabric. *Biblioth. lat. mediae et infimae aetatis*, T. iii., (1735) p. 582-584; Meusel, *Biblioth. hist.* i., 2, 282 seq.; Mazochius, *dissertatio qua Egesippi sive verius Ex-Josippi de excidio Hierosolymitano historia S. Ambrosio restituitur*; Cæsar's dissert. at the end of Weber's edition; Teuffel *Gesch. der röm. literatur* 3d ed. 1875), §433, 7-9; Mayor *Bibliographical clue to Latin literature* (1875) p. 179; Vogel, *Ἱστορίαι Sallustianae* (in *Acta seminarii philologici Erlangensis* I. 1878); Cæsar, *observationes nonnullae de Josepho latino qui Hegesippus vocari solet emendando*, Marburgi 1878 (Ind. lect.); Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christ. Biography* s. v. *Hegesippus* (ii. p. 878); Vogel, *De Hegesippo qui dicitur Josephi interprete*, Erlangen 1881.

†Comp. Fürst, ii., 111-114; *Bibl. Jud. Gottesd. Vorträge der Juden*

Since the sixteenth century, the works of Josephus have also been translated into almost all the modern languages of Europe. Very often they have been translated into German and English. The earliest German translation was published by Caspar Hedio at Strassburg 1531, and again in 1561.* Besides Hedio's we mention Otto's translation, Zurich 1736, (in folio, as well as in six vols.); Cotta's (Tübingen 1736), Demme's (7th ed. Philadelphia 1868-1869). The *Jewish Antiquities* were translated by K. Martin, 2 vols., Cologne 1852-53 (new ed. by Kaulen, 1883). *The Jewish War* was translated by Friese, Altona, 1804-1805; Gfrörer, Stuttgart 1836; Paret, *ibid.*, 1855. *Josephus' Life*, by Friese, Altona 1806; M(arkus) J(ost) in "Bibliothek der griechischen und römischen Schriftsteller über Judenthum und Juden," (vol. 2, Leipz. Oskar Leiner 1887). The work *Against Apion* by Frankel in "Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums" (vol. 1, 1851-52, p. 7-21, 41-56, 81-98, 121-145); by Paret, (Stuttgart 1856) and M. J. in "Bibliothek der griech. und röm. Schriftsteller," etc., vol. 2, 1867.

The first English translation (London 1683; Cambridge, 1693) was made from the French. The standard English translation is that by W. Whiston, 2 vols., London, 1737, and often since. A good and valuable translation of the *Life of Josephus* and of the *Jewish War* is that by R. Traill, edited by J. Taylor, London 1862.†

VI. LITERATURE ON JOSEPHUS AND HIS WORKS.

The literature on Josephus and his works is very large. The older literature to the year 1796 is given in a most complete manner by Oberthür in "Fabricius' Bibliotheca graeca ed. Harles," vol. v., p. 49-56. The literature till the year 1851 is for the most part given by Fürst in his "Bibliotheca Judaica, ii., p.

(1832) p. 146-154; Delitzsch *Zur Gesch. der jüd. Poësie* (1836) p. 37-40. McClintock & Strong's Cyclop. s. v. *Joseph-ben-Gorion*.

*Comp. Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.* ed. Harles, v., 31, 38, 48; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.*, ii., 121-123.

†For the English, and other modern translations, as French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Bohemian, Russian, Swedish, Danish, comp. Fabricius l. c. v., 30 seq.; Fürst l. c. ii., 123-127.

127-132. We shall confine ourselves to give the most important and most recent writings.

a. On Josephus in General.

Eusebius "Hist. Eccl.," iii., 9, 10.—Hieronymus "De viris illustribus," i. 13.—Photius "Bibliotheca cod.," 47, 48, 76, 238.—Suidas "Lexicon," s. v.

G. J. Vossius, "De historicis Graecis," (ed. i. 1624) ii. 8 ed. Westermann, 1838, p. 238-243.

Havercamp's edition of Josephus, ii., 2, 56-156.

Ceillier, "Histoire generale des auteurs sacrés et ecclesiastiques," I (Paris 1729), p. 552-580.

Ernesti, "Exercitationes Flavianae in: Opuscula phil. crit.," (Ludg. Bat. 1776) p. 357-419.

Meusel, "Bibliotheca historica," i., 2 (1794), p. 209-239.

Fabricius, "Bibliotheca graeca ed Harles," vol. v. (1796), p. 1-64.

Jost, "Geschichte der Israeliten," ii., (1821), Anhang, p. 55-73.

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Lewitz, "De Flavii Josephi fide atque auctoritate," ibid. 1857.

Gfrörer, Preface to his translation of the Jewish War, 1836.

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Baumgarten, "Der schriftstellerische Charakter des Josepus," (Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, 1864, p. 616-648.

Hausrath, "Ueber den jüdischen Geschichtsschreiber und Staatsmann Flavius Josephus," (Sybel's Histor. Zeitschrift, xii., 1864, p. 285-314.

Hausrath, "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," 1 ed. iii., p. 258-276, (2d ed. iv., 56-74).

Ewald, "Gesch. des Volkes Israel," (3d ed.) vi., 700 seq., vii., 89-110.

Wollenberg, "Recensentur lxxvii. loci ex Flavi Josephi scriptis," etc. Berolini, 1871.

Schürer, "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," (1874), p. 19 seq., 323-333, (1880) l., p. 56 seq.

Nicolai, "Griechische Literaturgeschichte," ii., 2 (1877), p. 553-559.

Renan, Les Evangiles (1877), p. 131 seq., 239 seq.

Baerwald, "Josephus in Galiläa, sein Verhältniss zu den Parteien, insbesondere zu Justus von Tiberias und Agrippa II." Breslau 1877, and Schürer's review in Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1878, No. 9.

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b. On the Jewish War.

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c. On the Antiquities.

A. BOOKS I-XI.

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Duschak, "Josephus Flavius und die Tradition," Vienna 1864.

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ogie," Leipzig, 1879, and Schürer's notice in "Theolog. Literaturzeitung," 1879, No. 24.

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e. On the Theology of Josephus.

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Langen, "Der theologische Standpunkt des Flavius Josephus" (Theol. Quartalschrift, 1865, p. 3-59).

f. On the Geography in Josephus' Works.

Boettger, "Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus," Leipzig 1879, and Schürer's notice in "Theolog. Literaturzeitung," 1879, No. 23.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

I. BIBLICAL.

A New Commentary on Genesis. By Franz Delitzsch, D. D., Leipzig. Translated by Sophia Taylor. Vol. II. pp. 408. New York: Scribner & Welford. On sale by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

A notice of vol. I. of this "New Commentary" appeared in the April number of the *QUARTERLY*. It is gratifying to be able to announce so soon the completion of the English edition by the appearance of vol. II. Giving the latest, the most mature, and probably the final, conclusions of the venerable author, it is likely to remain for many years the standard commentary on the first book of the Bible, as it certainly is at present not surpassed in philological and historical learning. Although a work intended for scholars and fully appreciated only by such, it has more than critical interest. It is replete with the spirit of piety, abounds in passages of striking reflection and moving pathos, and brings out delineations of ancient Hebrew life, that recall the Hebrew blood which courses through the heart of this great Christian savant.

The translation of these volumes is excellent and the mechanical execution in every way worthy of their sterling character.

A Commentary on the Book of Psalms. By Professor Franz Delitzsch, D. D., of Leipzig. From the latest edition, specially revised by the author. In three volumes. Vol. I. translated by the Rev David Eaton, M. A., and Rev. James E. Duguid. Vol. II. translated by the Rev. David Eaton, M. A. pp. 513, 523. New York: Funk & Wagnals.

Forty years ago the first edition of this great work on the Psalms appeared. The veteran author has continued his studies and researches and availed himself of the literature which has since accumulated, so that he has been able to issue successive editions, each a marked improvement on the previous one. The latest edition compared with some of the earlier ones is virtually a new commentary.

From an interleaved copy of this last edition, with the author's latest additions and corrections in manuscript, this translation has been made. It represents accordingly his matured opinions. The earlier pages of the translation were revised by Delitzsch himself, who has become quite an adept in English.

One of the most valuable features of Delitzsch on the Psalms is his translation of the original—a feature which the translator has succeeded

in putting into idiomatic English. The author has a keen appreciation of the music contained in the Psalter. He has also a lofty sense of its poetry and of its literary transcendence, but best of all he finds Redemption diffused through these holy lyrics, and penetrating their profound depths concludes that "there is nothing clearly revealed in the New Testament which was not already stirring in the Psalms."

The writer has for years in his private studies and his exposition of the Psalms from the pulpit found this commentary a very great help to the understanding of the Psalter, and he rejoices that it is now made accessible to those who are unacquainted with the German. It is destined to have an abiding place in psalmodic literature. One of the most distinguished of living English Hebraists pronounces it "the most complete and trustworthy commentary which exists." The 100 pages of Introduction are a mine of instruction for students.

The first Epistle to the Corinthians. By the Rev. Marcus Dods, D. D. pp. 399, New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. On Sale by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia.

This is another volume of "The Expositor's Bible," which in point of popularity is sure to be a success. It is the second volume of the series by Dr. Dods, whose proficiency as an exegete has been acknowledged by his recent election to the Professorship of New Testament Exegesis in New College, Edinburgh, by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. He grapples very well, on the whole, the ethical principles of the great Apostle, who in this Epistle deals so vigorously with questions of personal conduct, casuistry, public worship and social intercourse. So far from suggesting an advance upon St. Paul he regrets that his moderation and wisdom have not been universally followed by the Christian Church.

For instance, although the wine of the Holy Communion had been so sadly abused, the apostle does not prohibit its use in the ordinance. "On infinitely less occasion alterations have been introduced into the administration of the ordinance with a view to preventing its abuse by reclaimed drunkards, and on still slighter pretext a more sweeping alteration was introduced many centuries ago by the Church of Rome. Certainly in contrast to all such contrivances, the sanity of Paul's judgment comes out in strong relief; and we more clearly recognize the sagacity which directed that the ordinance should not be tampered with to suit the avoidable weaknesses of men, but that men should learn to live up to the requirements of the ordinance." It is to be regretted that the author's doctrinal apprehension is not always equally clear and sound. What is one of the greatest excellencies of this work is that, unlike the ordinary commentary, one can read it continuously like any other book. It is a series of commentaries departing from the usual style of commentaries.

Exodus, with Introduction, Commentary, and Special Notes, etc. By James Macgregor, D. D., Oamaru; sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. Part II. The Consecration. pp. 181. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This is one of the Handbooks for Bible classes and private students edited by Rev. Marcus Dods, D. D., and Rev. Alexander White, D. D. It is a little work admirably adapted to those who need a commentary on the Scriptures and is therefore likely to prove a valuable aid to interpretation. It does not smother the simple truth under a mass of criticism and erudition. The author's learning is employed to bring out the full meaning of the text instead of the text being used to bring out the extent of his learning.

Dr. Macgregor's merits as an expositor are very considerable. He is of course not always satisfactory. When he speaks of the "Ten Words," the Hebrew expression for the Law, he adds that "Commandments is the New Testament name for them." This is misleading, since the expression "Ten Commandments" occurs nowhere in either the New or the Old Testament.

His observations on "Sabbath Legislation" are interesting as showing the extreme and vexatious difficulties connected with the subject. The law must not "run into dictation beyond the call of public duty and interest."

There is also a perception of the difference between the Old Testament discipline and the New Testament free spirit, which shows that the author has been in the school of Luther. "To be bidden to do everything piecemeal is not good for a grown man. But where there is avoidance of multifarious regulations, there has to be some general understanding, on the part of individuals and families for their own guidance, of Christians for their common church action, especially of public worship, and of nations in the public interest which nations have in trust."

Sentiments like these are not unfamiliar to most of our readers, but they are not commonly met with in the circles represented by our author.

II. THEOLOGICAL.

The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Verified from the Original Sources. By the late Heinrich Schmid, Doctor and Professor of Theology at Erlangen. Second English Edition, revised according to the Sixth German Edition, by Charles A. Hay, D. D., etc., and Henry E. Jacobs, D. D., etc. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 42 North Ninth Street. 1889. 691 pp. \$4.00.

As long as the General Synod and the General Council, the oldest member of the Gettysburg Faculty and the youngest professor of the

Philadelphia Seminary, unite in bringing out a standard theological work, the hope of an ultimate union of the Lutheran Church in America cannot be a mere delusion. And when a second English edition of a large volume of undiluted Lutheranism, a work endorsed by Drs. Krauth, Walther, Fritschel and Loy as well as by Drs. Valentine, Brown and Sprecher, is called for, it does not look as if the appreciation and love of pure Lutheran doctrine are in danger of being lost by the English portion of the Church.

It must be a matter of general congratulation that the first edition of so costly a work was so soon exhausted, and a debt of gratitude is due to the learned translators for subjecting the whole of their former work to a careful revision. While much of the revising is in the line of greater accuracy and exactness in the translation, it embraces much more. In the sixth edition of the original to which this edition is conformed, Prof. Schmid made numerous changes. The 566 pp. of the Fifth edition he reduced to 494, making on the other hand also additional citations. The translators have also availed themselves of the marginal notes of the late Dr. Krauth in the copy used by him with his classes, and of notes from Profs. Loy and Stelthorn of Columbus, O., and from Dr. Baugher of Gettysburg, who have been using the former edition in imparting instruction. Dr. Jacobs has added in brackets a number of notes, the desirability of which was suggested by the daily use of the book with students for six years. These additional notes will be found chiefly in Christology and Eschatology. In several places there is given a fuller presentation of the authorities cited, which Dr. Schmid had abbreviated to answer other purposes than those for which the translation was intended.

Although the work has been greatly improved, its price has been reduced 33½ per cent., and it is thus placed within reach of nearly every student and pastor. And certainly no one who has taken a vow to preach the Lutheran faith can afford to be without it. Let the ministers of the word keep upon their table the Book of Concord, Schmid's Dogmatics and the Holman Lectures on the Augsburg Confession, and they will so enlarge their knowledge of the Scriptures that their flocks will not suffer for want of rich and solid nourishment.

III. PRACTICAL.

Casual-Predigten und Reden von Dr. C. F. W. Walther. Aus seinem schriftlichen Nachlass gesammelt. pp. 616. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag.

Three large volumes of Dr. Walther's sermons, *Die Evangelienpostille*, *Die Brosamen*, and *Die Epistel-Postille*, were published during the life-time of the great preacher. A rich treasure of sermons, mostly written out in full, have been found among his remains and these are

now to be given to the public in successive issues. The present volume contains occasional sermons and discourses which their distinguished author delivered during a ministry of fifty years in this country and Germany.

They are classified under such heads as Advent, Christmas, Reformation, Fast Day, Church-Dedication, Young People's Associations, Preparatory Sermons, &c.

They are models of brevity and simplicity. They reveal deep insight into the plan of salvation and a searching penetration of the human heart. That such sermons were popular, that crowds came to listen to such truths, is one of the most cheering signs of the times. To those who whine about the waning power of the pulpit, and to those who imagine that modern audiences will not accept the Gospel unless it comes disguised under rhetorical and sensational arts, we commend the examination of this volume.

If the Missourians generally pitch their preaching on this key, if the hundreds of his pupils follow the pattern of their venerated teacher, the remarkable growth of this body in recent years need not be wondered at—nor the fact that vacant congregations annually ask for more than double the number of the graduates from the Missouri theological seminaries. Last year 114 calls came to these institutions for preachers. After all the people do want the Gospel. We hope this volume may have a wide circulation among our ministers. The language is so simple that any one who is acquainted with the German can easily understand it.

Christian Manliness. And other Sermons. By John Rhey Thompson, D. D., of the New York Conference. pp. 303. 1889. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The title of this volume expresses the subject of the first seven of the twenty-one discourses which compose it. The rest discuss interesting themes of Christian truth and life. They are marked by earnestness and vigor, and present many passages of great power and impressiveness. They are adapted to popular effect, and abound in striking thought. But the author's thought is vigorous rather than exact, intense rather than discriminating and self-consistent. Though it is Christian manliness that is discussed, the qualifying term *Christian* is, often, at least apparently forgotten, and the component trio of virtues: "Courage, dutifulness, love," are but loosely, if at all, distinguished from the qualities which form merely naturalistic courage or heroism. From the illustrations given of Christian manliness the reader is hardly reminded that it requires a Christian to possess and exhibit it. To say nothing of many of the other illustrations employed to set forth one or another of its features, the reader is rather startled to find one drawn from an incident in the life of J. S. Mill. On p. 99, the author seems to apply to man as man, not only to those who are in Christ, the Apos-

tle's words: "Beloved *now* are we the sons of God * * we know we shall be like him." He may not have intended to give this sense, but the paragraph is a specimen of the neglect, observable in much of the treatment of the subject, to make clear and maintain needful distinctions and discriminations. From this source comes also Dr. Thompson's apparent but illogical, fling at legal restriction of the liquor curse or other great evils. He represents Christ's way as: "Change your men, and evils of all kinds will gradually and surely disappear. With this he contrasts "the average professional temperance reformer: Take liquor away from men, and intemperance will cease." And he adds: "Jesus says, make men stronger than liquor; by repentance, faith, conversion, take the bad appetite out of men, utterly uproot it, change their heart, and liquor will disappear." Will some preachers never learn to distinguish between Christ's method and rules for the purely spiritual service of saving men and giving them the victory over evils, and the functions of civil *government* to prohibit evils, wrongs and traffics through which godless or misguided men persist in filling the land with crime, disorder, injustice, wretchedness and poverty? M. V.

Christian Education. Five Lectures delivered before the Ohio Wesleyan University on the Foundation of Rev. Frederick Merrick. By Rev. Daniel Curry, LL. D. First Series. pp. 131. New York: Hunt & Eaton.

These lectures were the first delivered on the Merrick Foundation. This fact seems to have influenced the lecturer as much in his treatment of his theme as in his choice of it. He acknowledges that "the discussion has been only very general, fragmentary and incomplete." It is indeed very general. More could have been said in the same space had the line of thought been more definitely fixed; and there is a much too frequent use of vague terms and phrases, such as "The elementary substances, which cast in the crucible of the mind are wrought out into systems of thought which fashion the soul's thinkings and believings, its sentiments and its whole condition." On page 15 we are told that "to become educated after some sort or fashion is the certain destination of every rational being." On page 27 the word "educated" is used much more correctly, and if what is there said to be essential to education is "the certain destination of every rational being," we may say it is by no means certainly reached. Some observations however, made in the book are excellent and timely. This is one: "More intelligent conceptions respecting the authority of the Scriptures as sacred writings, and of the quality of their contents, have become a necessary condition of the maintenance of the faith among us. The unbelief of the age is concentrating its forces against the citadel of the faith, God's written word; and they to whom belongs the duty of defending the faith must meet their antagonists at that point."

J. K. D.

Physiological Notes on Primary Education and the Study of Language.

By Mary Putnam Jacobi, M. D. pp. 120. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This book is worthy of being carefully read by every person engaged in primary teaching. Even those who are conducting youth through the more advanced studies can hardly fail to profit by this little volume. As its title shows it endeavors to find in physiology the reason for the methods it recommends. This is not its most valuable feature. Some of the conclusions reached are likely to be disputed. Nor are many persons, looking upon the subject from the author's own point of view, to be expected to agree with her in all she says about methods. A notable proof of this is found in the book itself, where a chapter of disproportionate length is given to an uninteresting controversy between the author and Miss Youmans as to which in primary education is the better starting point for the study of botany, the flower or the leaf. We could not but think the child four and a half years old, who showed in herself the results of the methods advocated, hardly appears on page 12 in a pleasant light. "A horse-railroad interested her as an illustration of parallel straight lines which never met, the marks of carriage wheels as parallel curved lines, the marks of horse-shoes as 'dear little curves.' * * At dinner she divided her cakes into squares or cubes and made pentagons and octagons with the knives and forks." Heaven deliver us from such children at that age, or at any age! Still, this is a really excellent book by Dr. Jacobi. She advocates some studies which are generally supposed to find favor only with persons of conservative tendencies. She insists most strongly on the study of language, and advises Latin and Greek as well as French and German. These studies, in accordance with the best and general opinion of the present time, she thinks should be the main occupation of the child from seven years of age to twelve. She gives a number of suggestions as to how they should be taught, also as to how arithmetic, geography and botany should be taught. We sometimes agree even in the more radical positions, as that the study of geometric elements may well precede the study of arithmetic.

J. K. D.

The Tests of the Various Kinds of Truth. Being a Treatise of Applied Logic. Lectures delivered before the Ohio Wesleyan University on the Merrick Foundation. By James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., D. L. Second Series. pp. 132. New York: Hunt and Eaton

Dr. McCosh's well known characteristics as a thinker and writer are apparent in this excellent book. The thinking is close. The writing is clear. No sentence has to be read again that you may know what the writer wishes to say, no paragraph glanced back to that you may recall the connection. We speak of Dr. McCosh as a writer, though the work before us contains what were spoken lectures. The speaker how-

ever is wholly lost in the writer. The hope is expressed in the preface that the volume may become a text-book. The students at Wesleyan University may have thought, as they listened to these lectures, that one was reading a text-book to them. Still we venture to say, they did not go to sleep. The contents of the book are not new. Little is said that Dr. McCosh has not said elsewhere and before. But a writer who has previously written much on a subject has a great advantage when he treats it again and in brief. He has found the best modes of presentation. This little book deserves to be read by all serious young men and women and affords a capital opportunity for persons who are older to refresh their minds in a short while on an important field of study. The closing chapters treating of "Chance," the "Limitations of Human Knowledge" and the "Value of Testimony to Prove the Supernatural," are especially suggestive, and give these lectures their right to a place on the Merrick Foundation. J. K. D.

IV. HISTORICAL.

Church History. By Professor Kurtz. Authorized Translation from Latest Revised Edition by the Rev. John MacPherson, M. A. In three vols. Vols. I. and II. pp. 574, 478. \$2.00 per vol. New York: Funk & Wagnals.

Most of the readers of the *QUARTERLY* are well acquainted with Kurtz's *Church History*. They learned to prize it by a careful study of it as a text-book. They will, however, be pleased to learn of this new edition in English from the 9th German edition, revised, improved and enlarged until it is now about twice the size of the original work. Excellent as was the edition—the second—from which the former English version was made, this is in many ways superior, giving important matter brought to light by recent historical research, while the translation surpasses the former beyond comparison.

In 1870 Dr. Kurtz retired from his professorship, and has conscientiously devoted himself to bring up each successive edition of his text-book to the point reached by the very latest scholarship of his own and other lands. He has made very special improvements in the history of the first three centuries, making ample use of the brilliant researches of Harnack. His thorough scholarship and historical talent have long been recognized over Christendom, and this work has long been the standard text-book in Germany, England and America. Another work has recently been introduced in some seminaries, but it has not proved satisfactory, and this new edition of Kurtz is sure to replace it in many institutions. At Gettysburg we returned to it promptly, even before Vol. III. is out, being assured by the publishers that it will be ready in a few months. The enlargement it has undergone will not detract from its convenience as a text-book, since the happy arrangement of general divisions, sub-

divisions, sections and numbered paragraphs, with large type for the most important matter, and smaller type for minor details, makes it easy to assign selections to a class, while the reading of the more copious details will add greatly to the interest of the more essential parts.

While serving thus admirably for the class-room, Kurtz's History commends itself to all intelligent readers. Dominated by the spirit of candor and aiming at the presentation of the full truth of history, in the sphere of doctrine and worship as well as in that of the Church's outward progress, this work has peculiar interest to Lutherans. It may be called their Church History. It tells them more about their own Church, and it reveals to them more clearly the roots and principles of their Church before Luther, than any other work ever published. The cases are exceedingly rare where teachers of other churches have given either a fair or a full representation of the Lutheran Church. Kurtz excels both in fairness and fulness.

The translator has wisely abstained from making additions. His omission of the long lists of German books and articles in German periodicals will be generally approved by readers and students but condemned by specialists.

His abridgment of some of those paragraphs which give minute details of the Reformation work in various German provinces may also be a gain, especially as we are assured that no fact of interest or importance has been omitted. The second volume completes the sixteenth century.

English History by Contemporary Writers. THE CRUSADE OF RICHARD I. Selected and arranged by T. A. Archer, B. A., pp. 388 New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

This volume is one of a series on epochs of English History. It consists of extracts of memoirs, letters, papers, etc., of contemporary English, French and Saracen writers.

These passages are collected and arranged in a systematic manner by the author who also adds brief explanatory notes. There is a valuable appendix containing sketches of the authors cited and descriptions of the customs of mediæval warfare, with many other notes descriptive of the times.

The illustrations are in keeping with the rest of the book, and represent the instruments of war, monuments, coins, etc.

To the student of History this book will be a treasure, while the general reader cannot fail to be both interested and instructed.

The chief aim of the series is to send the reader to the best original authorities, and so to bring him as close as may be to the mind and feelings of the times he is reading about.

Papers of the American Society of Church History. Volume I. Report and papers of the first Annual Meeting, Held in the City of Washington, Dec. 28, 1888. Edited by Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M. A. Secretary. pp. 271. \$3.00. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. On Sale by J. B. Lippincott Co., Phila

This first Report of the American Society of Church History augurs well for the noble benefits which may be expected to accrue from this association, which numbers on its roll the most eminent American teachers and writers on Church History.

Besides the report of the organization of the Society, its constitution, the report of the first annual meeting and the list of members, the volume contains papers on The Progress of Religious Freedom as shown in the History of Toleration Acts, by Rev. Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D.; Indulgences in Spain, by Henry Charles Lea; A Crisis in the Middle Ages, by Rev. James Clement Moffat, D. D.; Melancthon's "Synergism," by Rev. Frank Hugh Foster, Ph. D.; Some Notes on Syncretism in the Christian Theology of the Second and Third Centuries, by Rev. Hugh McDonald Scott, D. D.; The Influence of the Golden Legend on Pre-Reformation Culture History, by Rev. Ernest Cushing Richardson, A. M.; Notes on the New Testament Canon of Eusebius, by Rev. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Ph. D., and A Note on the need of a Complete Missionary History in English, by Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M. A.

Dr. Schaff's paper which occupies 126 pages, has the thoroughness and erudition which mark all his historical contributions. The paper of chief interest to the reviewer is Prof. Foster's on Melancthon's "Synergism." It is gratifying to see men of other churches vieing with the Lutherans in studying the theology of the Reformers, exploring the treasures of the sixteenth century to enrich and illumine the theological teachings of the present day. Luther as well as Melancthon has manifestly been the object of careful study by Prof. Foster, and he brings out the absolute agreement of the two originally on the Freedom of the Will. He then traces the gradual change of the latter, beginning with "a style of consideration which portends change" introduced even in the first edition of the *Loci*. A somewhat more distinct view is given in the "Adumbratio" of the *Loci*, a lecture-note book of the year 1520. The further development begins with the edition of the *Loci* of 1535, but assistance in tracing the modifications of Melancthon's mind is offered also by the Augsburg Confession, and Bugenhagen's Notes of Melancthon's lectures on theology taken in 1533. "The Augsburg Confession marks a change in theological tone by the omission of this doctrine from the list of positive truths held by the Protestants. The Melancthon who could omit predestination from the great fundamental Confession of Protestantism is not the Melancthon

thon who had formerly put it at the very head of his theological system,"

After setting forth his "Synergism," Prof. F. concludes: "Melancthon's great service to his contemporaries and to us lies in the fact that with all his speculations and variations he held fast to the practical necessity of the divine initiation in conversion. He thus anchored Lutheran orthodoxy for the succeeding century upon this fundamental truth, and formed also another witness in the long series whose testimony has confirmed the scriptural character of this doctrine. Augustine, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, both Arminian and Calvinist opponents of the Socinians, the Wesleyans of England, and whatever other great body of Christians there have been who have entered into a genuine investigation of this theme and have held fast to the authority of Scriptures, have, after the fullest and freest discussion, abode by this doctrine. And thus it has attained finally such evidence as history can afford that it is in fact the doctrine taught by the word of God."

Geschichte des CONCORDIA Collegiums.—der Ev-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St., Zu Fort Wayne, Ind. zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum seiner Alma Mater im Auftrag des Jubelfest-Comitees dem Ueberdruck übergeben von einem Concordianer, pp. 72. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House.

The recent commemoration among the Presbyterians of the founding of "the Log College" attracted wide-spread attention. Were the little volume before us to appear in English, the public would have a tale of historical and educational interest, covering not as many years but bringing out facts of greater moment and significance. This beautiful brochure contains a cut of the log-cabin standing in a forest of Perry Co., Missouri, where fifty years ago the Missouri Lutherans laid the foundation of their educational work, which has grown to proportions that command universal admiration. The brief history gives the secret of the wonderful success which has marked this institution. To God and his truth is ascribed all the praise.

A companion to the above from the same House is

Geschichte der Ersten ev.-lutherischen Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde in St. Louis, Mo. Auf Anordnung der Gemeinde Zur Feier ihres fünfzigjährigen Jubiläums am 16. und 17. Juni, 1889, Verfasst von P. E. J. Otto Hanser. pp. 101.

These two little volumes belong together on several grounds, chiefly because they cover what is in the main the same history with two branches. Poverty-stricken as were these Lutheran immigrants when a few months after their landing they found themselves the prey of an apostate, they began at once both a church and a seminary for the ed-

ucation of ministers. The prosperity of both has been without a parallel in this country.

The history of the parent church has a special interest from the fact that for its first three years it had the use at a nominal rental, of the basement of an Episcopal Church, an act of Christian generosity which made it possible for these people who now number more than 1000 Congregations with a quarter of a million of communicants, to lay the foundations of their wonderful development.

Dr. Johann Gerhard's *Heilige Betrachtungen*, zur Erweckung Wahrer Gottseligkeit und zur Förderung des Wachstums des enwendigen Menschen. pp. 284.

This is a new German translation, beautifully bound in black and gold, of *Gerhard's Sacred Meditations*, which makes one's mouth water for a new English edition.

The same House sends us *Synodal-Bericht*. Verhandlungen der deutschen Evang. luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und Andern Staaten Illinois-Districts. A. D. 1889. Do., Südlichen Districts, 1889. Do. Wisconsin-Districts, 1889.

Schulpredigt, gehalten während der Synodal Versammlung des Minnesota-und Dakotah-Districts der Synode von Missouri, etc.—von C. F. W. Maass, Watertown, Minn.

Predigt, gehalten am hundersten Jahrestag der Inauguration des Präsidenten Washington, von C. C. Schmidt, St. Louis, Mo.

Henkel & Co., New Market, Va. have sent us *Infant Church Membership, Baptism, and The Mode of Christian Baptism*, a pamphlet of 27 pp. double column, by Rev. P. C. Henkel, D. D.

Notices of a number of valuable works are inevitably delayed to the next issue of this journal.

The Lutherans in America by E. J. Wolf, D. D., with an Introduction by H. E. Jacobs, D. D. pp. 544. New York: J. A. Hill & Co., will appear about Nov. 1. It will be sold only by subscription.

ERRATA.—p. 521, for Gettysburg read Baltimore; p. 538, for 1868 read 1886.

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